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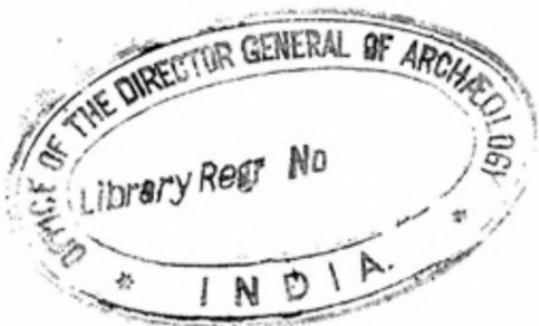
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THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
AND
JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.



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AND
JOURNAL
OF THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

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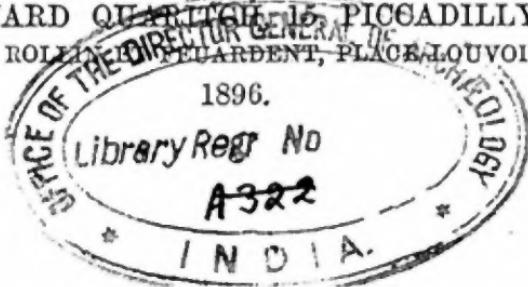


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CONTENTS.

ANCIENT NUMISMATICS.

	Page
On some Unpublished or Rare Greek Coins. By Hermann Weber, M.D.	1
A Portrait of Perseus of Macedon. By G. F. Hill, M.A. .	34
On some Rare or Unpublished Roman Medallions. By Sir John Evans, K.C.B., D.C.L.	40
The Process of Coining as seen in a Wall-painting at Pompeii. By Talfourd Ely, M.A., F.S.A.	53
Greek Coins acquired by the British Museum in 1895. By Warwick Wroth, F.S.A.	85
Contributions to Sicilian Numismatics.—II. By Arthur J. Evans, M.A., F.S.A.	101
Notes on Combe's Catalogue of the Hunter Cabinet. By George Macdonald, M.A.	144
On a Find made in the Lipari Islands, including an Unpub- lished Coin of Rhegium. By George Macdonald, M.A. .	185
Roman Coins found at Brickendonbury, Hertford. By Sir John Evans, K.C.B., D.C.L.	191
A Hoard of Roman Coins found at Bishop's Wood, Ross-on- Wye. By Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley	209
Notes on a Find of Roman Coins near Cadbury Camp (Cleve- don), Somersetshire. By John E. Pritchard, Esq. . . .	238

MEDLÆVAL AND MODERN NUMISMATICS.

	Page
The Coins of Stephen. By A. E. Packe, F.S.A.	59
On a Find of Coins chiefly of the Time of Edward IV. By L. A. Lawrence, Esq.	72
On the Bezant of James I. By Lieut.-Col. J. G. Sandeman	254
“ Perkins School Tokens ” of the Seventeenth Century. By F. P. Weber, M.D., F.S.A.	262

ORIENTAL NUMISMATICS.

Some Novelties in Moghal Coins. By L. White King, I.C.S., and Surgeon-Captain William Vost, Ind. Med. Ser.	155
On the Attribution of certain Silver Coins of Sassanian Fabric. By E. J. Rapson, M.A.	246
History and Coinage of the Bürakzai Dynasty of Afghānistān. By L. White King, I.C.S.	277

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

Revue Numismatique, 1896	345
Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Bd. xx. Heft II.	347

MISCELLANEA.

	Page
Ancient British Coin found near Watford, Herts	183
Two New Coins from the Panjab	268
Notes on a Penny of Offa, with New Type of Reverse	270
An Undescribed Huguenot Medal relating to the St. Bartholomew Massacre (?)	271
A Bronze Medallion of the Delivery of Antwerp in 1577	273
Phoenix Medalet of Elizabeth	274
A Medal illustrating the Condition of France at the Commencement of the Campaign of 1709	275
On a Baronial Coin of the Reign of Stephen	275
The Gold Medal presented to Dr. Edward Jenner by the Medical Society of London in 1804	348

LIST OF PLATES CONTAINED IN VOL. XVI.

Plate

I. Coins from the Weber Collection.

II. " "

III. " "

IV. Portraits of Perseus of Macedon.

V. Roman Medallions.

VI. Wall-Painting from the House of the Vettii at Pompeii.

VII. Acquisitions of the British Museum in 1895.

VIII. Sicilian Coins.

IX. " "

X. " "

XI. Moghal Coins.

XII. " "

XIII. Roman Coins found at Brickendonbury, Hertford.

XIV. Map of the Forest of Dean and surroundings.

XV. Coins of the Bārakzai Dynasty of Afghānistān.

XVI. " " " "

NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

I.

ON SOME UNPUBLISHED OR RARE GREEK COINS.

SECOND CONTRIBUTION.

(See Plates I.—III.)

In the NUM. CHRON., Vol. XII., Third Series, 1892, I made a communication to the Numismatic Society on some coins in my collection. The following are some of the more interesting coins which I have acquired during the last four years.

1. Cumae. AR^s. 127·6 grs.

Obv.—**Ξ Μ V Χ.** Archaic female head to r., in plain Corinthian helmet, with high top and small neck-flap; some curls of hair visible on forehead and below the neck-flap. Plain border.

Rev.—Large mussel (*Mytilus galloprovincialis*), hinge to r.; beneath it, under the concave side, a crab (*Pinnotheres* or *Pinnotheres*), which seems to hold the mussel and to endeavour to open it by means of a pebble. All in a round incuse. [Pl. I. 1.]

This coin is different from any with which I am acquainted, and offers several points of interest. The weight, 127·6 grains, is that of the Attic or Tarentine didrachms (130 grains), allowing for some loss by oxidation. This weight, according to Dr. Head,¹ prevailed at Cumae only

¹ *Historia Numorum. A Manual of Greek Numismatics.* By Barclay V. Head. Oxford, 1887.

from about 490 to 480, and to this period the style corresponds. None of the coins of the British Museum are of this weight; all being of the lighter Phocaean weight, 118 to 114 grs., or less. The eoin mentioned in Head (*l.c.*, p. 31), which resembles No. 28 of Carelli,² weighs 129 grs., and reads **KVMAION** (retrograde) on the obverse, while my coin has **Ξ MVK**. Whether this legend refers to Athena as the tutelar deity of Cumae, or is merely the name of the town in the nominative, I do not venture to decide, but I am inclined to the latter view. The same legend occurs also on early coins of Cumae, with a female head without helmet, and the learned author of the Berlin Catalogue³ is probably justified in regarding it as the epithet of this female head.

Amongst the small coins described in the Catalogue of the Berlin Museum, No. 23, on p. 94, probably represents a fraction of this stater:—

Obr.—Head of Athena in plain Corinthian helmet, without crest, r. Beaded border.

Rev.—**KVME.** Mytilus (with point to r.), above small peacock (point upwards). Beaded border.
R^t. 0·7 gram.

By multiplying the weight by 12, we obtain the weight of this didraehm as 8·4 gram., which is nearly 130 grs., viz., the weight of the Attic or Tarentine stater.

All the other fractions in the Berlin Museum are of lighter weight, and the impression which I owe to the courtesy of Dr. Gaebler likewise points to a later style.

² Carelli, F., *Numorum veterum Italiae descriptio*. Napoli, 1812.

³ *Beschreibung der antiken Münzen*, iii. p. 89. Berlin, 1894.

The British Museum has acquired, since the appearance of the Catalogue of Magna Graecia, a stater which is probably of only slightly later date, and is intermediate in weight (120·4 grs.) between the staters of Phocaean weight and mine of Attic weight.

Obv.—KVME Archaic female head, laureate, hair falling in a bunch over the neck.

Rev.—KVMAION around Mytilus.

Of about the same date and style is a coin in the Berlin Museum (*Cat.*, p. 90, No. 2). The weight is lighter (nearly 118 grs.), probably from loss.

The reverse is likewise different from those of other coins of Cumae. On Carelli's, No. 28, and on Garrucci's, Pl. LXXXIII. No. 30,⁴ the crab embraces the mytilus from the convex, while on mine it does so from the concave side, and it looks as if the crab endeavoured to open the hinge of the bivalve by means of a little pebble. Both representations, as pointed out to me by Professor Bell of the Natural History Museum, are probably indicative of the idea, then prevalent, that the crab *Pinnotheres* (Latreille), which often lives in the shells of bivalves, endeavours to force an entrance. The Rev. Th. R. R. Stebbing,⁵ however, in his work on *Crustacea*, points out that this opinion, propagated in Oppian's *Halicutica*, and present in the minds of the die-cutters, is erroneous, and that the name of this crab ought not to be spelt *Pinnotheres* (Pinna-hunter), but *Pinnotheres* (*πιννοτήρης*, Pinna-guard,

⁴ *Le Monete dell' Italia antica.* P. R. Garrucci. Part II., 1885.

⁵ *A History of Crustacea.* By the Rev. Th. R. R. Stebbing, M.A. London: Kegan, Paul, & Co. 1893. Pp. 99 and 100.

$\pi\iota\pi\pi\phi\bar{\nu}\lambda\alpha\xi$), as Aristotle has it, since the crab and the molluscs of the bivalves seem to help one another; that they are in fact allies, not enemies.

2. *Neapolis in Campania.* AR. 111.3 grs.

Obv.—NEOL^ΛΟVI. Archaic or transitional female head to r.; hair tied by a cord; eye facing.

Rev.—Man-headed bull to l. on plain line of exergue; above, ear of corn to l. In round incuse.

[Pl. I. 2.]

This is probably one of the earliest coins of Neapolis, as the style of the head, the legend, and the round incuse testify. Garrucci (*l.c.*) gives a similar obverse on Pl. LXXXIV. No. 27, but the reverse is different. The coins with the head of Athena, which are placed at the beginning of the first period in the Catalogues of the British and Berlin Museums, seem to me more recent; all those which I have seen have the eye in profile.

3. *Heraclea in Lucania.* AR. 122.7 grs.

Obv.—Head of Athena to r., in crested Athenian helmet, adorned with Scylla. Earring and necklace. In front, EY^ΔY.

Rev.—Herakles standing to r., strangling lion. Club behind. Single-handled vase between legs. The legend is probably outside the flan. [Pl. I. 3.]

The work is in high relief. The legend EY^ΔY is, as far as I know, now, and from the position and the size of the letters belongs to a magistrate. There were several names in Magna Graecia beginning with these letters, as Eὐθυκλῆς, a Pythagorean at Rhegium, Eὐθυμος, likewise a Pythagorean at Tarentum, and another philosopher, Eὐθύνοος, at Lecri.





4. *Metapontum.* AR⁵. 120·1 grs.

Obv.—Female head to r., wearing earring and necklace; hair bound with double fillet, crossed, tied in knot behind. All in olive-wreath. Transitional style.

Rev.—MET A. Ear of barley; leaf on left. The three first letters in the right field, the A in the left. Slightly concave field. [Pl. I. 4.]

This coin, which is not mentioned in Sambon, Carelli, or Garrucci, is similar to one described in the *Cat. Brit. Mus.*, p. 243, No. 53; but it is of full weight (120·1 grs.), while the Museum coin weighs only 95·6 grs., and the wreath on mine shows distinctly olive-leaves.

5. *Metapontum.* AR^{1 by 1 1/4}. 18·8 grs.

Obv.—Head of bearded Zeus Ammon to r.

Rev.—Herakles, kneeling r., strangling lion; club behind; in concave field. There is no legend, but the types on obv. and rev. are Metapontine; the latter perhaps federal between different towns of Magna Graecia (Tarentum, Heraclea, &c.).

[Pl. I. 5.]

Carelli, Sambon, and Garrucci have small coins of Metapontum, with head of bearded Ammon and ear of barley, or beardless Ammon and the Heraclean struggle; but the combination of the bearded Ammon on obverse, with the Heraclean struggle on reverse, is, I think, new.

6. *Croton.* AR^{6 by 5}. 122·5 grs.

Obv.—ΩΡΩ (sic). Tripod with lion's feet; ring-like handle in centre, bar-like handles on either side; fillet or scroll ornamentation under the top bar. In the right field faint traces of letters or design. Border of dots.

Rev.— $\Omega\Delta\Omega$ in left field; tripod with lion's legs and feet on dotted line of exergue. In the spaces below the bar the ornamentation represents two eyes. In exergue IA. Border of dots. The whole in round incuse. [Pl. I. 7.]

There are several peculiarities on this coin. On the obverso we see the engraver's mistake in making a Ω for an O as the third letter; and the top of the tripod is represented with one ring and two bar-like handles, instead of the usual three rings on the archaic tripods of Croton. On the reverse the engraver seems to have played with the type, by placing two eyes in the spaces below the top, thus giving to the whole tripod somewhat the appearance of a lion's face. Similar freaks of artists have been noticed on other coins. The arrangement of the handles on the top of the reverse is not quite clear, as they are partly cut off, but there is a portion of the central ring to be seen, and of a bar on the right corner. I will not discuss the debated signification of the IA in the exergue of the reverse, and it must remain uncertain whether a similar or different legend existed on the cut-off exergue of the obverse.

7. *Croton.* AR¹⁴. 11·5 grs.

Obr.—Tripod-lebes with neck and three handles; in left field, $\Delta\Omega\Omega$. Plain border.

Rev.—Hare running r.; \circ and \circ placed above and below. Concave field. Plain border. [Pl. I. 8.]

The types on obverse and reverso are well known on obols of Croton, with the legend $\Omega\Omega$ or $O\Omega\Omega$ on the obverse, with or without symbols. Cf. *Cat. Brit. Mus.*, p. 348, Nos. 60 and 61. The coin here given is without

the legend of the town, but it has $\Delta\! \Omega$ on the obverse. These letters may be assumed to signify the name of a magistrate, which, as far as I know, is unknown on coins of Croton, but occurs on a stater of Thurium in the British Museum. See *Cat. Brit. Mus.*, p. 294, No. 73.

8. *Croton.* AR. 123·7 grs.

Obv.—**OSKSM^TTAM.** Herakles naked, sitting on rock covered with lion's skin; he holds in his r. laurel-branch filleted, over a burning altar encircled with laurel; his l. rests on club; behind him, bow and quiver. Double line of exergue, the upper plain, the lower beaded. In exergue two fishes meeting.

Rev.—**QPOT.** Tripod-lebes, with three handles and lion's feet on plain line of exergue. In l. field, barley-corn; in r. the legend; in exergue, **E.** Border of dots. The whole in round incuse.

[Pl. I. 9.]

I am induced to publish this coin because it shows all the details of the types on obverse as well as reverse. The British Museum contains a similar coin (*Cat.*, 353, No. 87), but less perfect, and without the **T** after **QPO**. The style of art, especially on the obverse, is more advanced than is usual in the period which is generally assigned to the use of **Q** instead of **K** in Magna Graecia. This type, which we might call the "consecration type," is also occasionally accompanied by the legends **KPOTONIATAN**, **KPOTΩNIATΑΣ** with **K** at the beginning, and forms the reverse of some of the most beautiful coins of Magna Graecia of the period of finest stylo with Hera Lakinia on the obverse. (*Cf.*, *inter alia*, *Cat. Brit. Mus.*, pp. 353, 354; the perfect specimen of Hera in profile in Imhoof-Blumer's collection, *Mon. Gr.*, p. 7, 28; and the same head facing in the Montagu collec-

tion, *Num. Chron.*, 1892, p. 23.) My own collection contains likewise two specimens with head facing, one with B on obverse, the other with **MΔ** and tripod as symbol on reverse. The reverse type is the same as on a coin with the eagle on the obverse, represented in the Catalogue of the British Museum, p. 349, No. 63. It seems that the Crotoniates used sometimes the earlier forms of letters, sometimes the later, in the period of transition from one mode of writing to the other.

9. *Croton.* AR. 120·2 grs.

The same types and legend as on the preceding coin, but in the centre of the exergue of obverse only one fish instead of two.

10. *Croton.* AR. 19 grs.

Obv.—Tripod with three handles standing on plain line of exergue. In right field, traces of letters or symbols.

Rev.—Owl to l. In left field, three circles or phialae.

[Pl. I. 6.]

The coin belongs to the period of transition, and there are no other coins of Croton with an owl at so early a period. The three circles are like the two similar signs on the small coins of Croton with the hare type. Compare, for instance, No. 7, above-described. They may be signs of value, but it is difficult to explain the exact meaning. If they are signs of value, it is curious that a trihemiobol, with tripod and Pegasus, should have only one (Sambon, p. 325, 32), while obols with tripod and hare in British Museum and in other collections, as well as mine, have two. I am not aware of another coin published with three circles.

11. *Croton and Sybaris.* AR^t. 19 grs.

Olv.—Tripod-lebes, with three handles and lion's feet, standing on plain line of exergue.

Rev.—Bull to l., turning his head round and biting his back; plain line of exergue. Border of dots on incuse band.

This diobol, though without legend, is evidently an alliance coin of Croton with Sybaris. The earlier coins of this alliance with the reverse incuse are well known; they date from the first alliance between these two towns in the second half of the sixth century. So far as I know, no coins have been published with both sides in relief, nor have I seen any alliance of Croton and Sybaris of so small a division. The style is later than that of the usual staters with the reverse incuse.

12. *Rhegium.* AR. 2·8 grs.

Olv.—Fore-part of running hare to r. Border of dots.

Rev.—•R'. Border of dots. [Pl. I. 10.]

On this unpublished coin the half animal indicates that the coin is the half of another small fraction. The two points above the R on the reverse are no doubt signs of value, and probably signify that the coin passed for two ounces of copper. It is presumably half of a hemilitron in silver, one-fourth of a litra, or about equal to a hexas, as represented in Dr. Imhoof-Blumer's contribution on *Magna Graecia, Sicily, &c.*⁶ Cf. H on the reverse of the two-ounce piece of Himera, with the Gorgoneion on the obverse.

⁶ *Zur Münzkunde Grossgriechenlands, Siciliens, Kretas, &c.* Wien, 1887. Taf. vi. No. 14, p. 248-9.

The period of issue is probably the first part of the fifth century, as the hare disappears from the coinage of Rhegium, according to Dr. Head (*l.c.*, p. 93), about 466 B.C.

13. *Eryx in Sicily.* AR¹. 6·6 grs. (Hemilitron.)

Obv.—Fore-part of running dog to l.; above, wheel-like symbol. Border of dots.

Rev.—ΥΡΞ in the open spaces of the Χ, Ξ [Pl. I. 11.]

A variety of this hemilitron has been, as I learn from Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, described in Landolina's *Mem. della Città di Erice*, 1872, Tav. II. 10, without symbol, and with the legend ΞΥΞ.

14. *Syracuse.* AE¹. 24·0 grs. (Uncia or Hexas?)

Obv.—Female head to r., wearing hair in corymbus. Dolphin in left field, downwards; portion of dolphin in right field.

Rev.—Cuttle-fish with a large ● in centre between the two upper feelers, and apparently a smaller ● between the first and second feeler on the left side.

Dr. Head⁷ regards these coins as "the earliest copper issue of nominal, but not of real, value, struck during the Democracy, B.C. 466—412." The triuncia or trias with three points placed in a triangle, ∴, is well known, Mion., size 3 (0·6—0·65 inch, 15—17 mm.), weight 60 grains, more or less. The small point seems

⁷ *Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Syracuse.* By Barclay V. Head. London, 1874, p. 16.

to be due to a flaw, but may possibly be a mark of value. The weight of 24 grains would correspond to a full ounce: the weight of a small coin in the British Museum is only 21 grains. Dr. Head regards the Museum coin as an ounce, though it has no marks of value, and the present coin corroborates this view. As the values were only nominal, it is probable that the weights were not exact.

15. *Syracuse.* AE²⁴. 25 grs.

Obv.—Head of Athena in crested Corinthian helmet, r.
Border of dots.

Rev.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΑ above prow to r. [Pl. I. 12.]

This small copper coin of Syracuse has, so far as I know, not yet been published. It seems to belong to the later time of Agathokles. It is rather remarkable that Syracuse, although adjacent to the sea, had not adopted in earlier years the ship, or portions of the ship, as coin types; and this peculiarity applies also to the other maritime towns of Sicily, and to most of those of Magna Graecia.

16. *Abdera.* AE⁵.

Obv.—ΤΙΒΕΡΙΩΝ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΩΝ ΚΑΙΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩΝ
ΣΕΒΑΣ. Bareheaded bust of Claudius to l.

Rev.—ΘΕΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ ΑΒΔΗΡΕΙΤΩΝ. Bareheaded bust of Augustus to l. [Pl. I. 13.]

This coin is unpublished, and altogether only few coins seem to have been struck at Abdera under the early emperors.

17. *Dicaea in Thrace.* AR¹. 26.9 grs.

Obv.—Δ in front of bearded head of Herakles in lion's skin, archaic type, to r. Border of dots.

Rev.—Cock standing r., in beaded square; the whole in incuse square. [Pl. I. 14.]

The distinct Δ in front of the head of Herakles leaves scarcely any doubt that this coin belongs to Dicaea in Thrace, and it renders it very probable that the coins of similar types without letters, usually attributed to Selymbria, belong to Dicaea. For instance, the coin sold in the Bompis collection as Selymbria, No. 604, now in my possession, is probably also of Dicaea:—

18. *Dicaea in Thrace.* AR². 31.4 grs.

Obv.—Bearded head of Herakles in lion's skin, r. Border of dots.

Rev.—Cock standing r., holding small serpent or large worm in beak, in beaded square; the whole in incuse square. [Pl. I. 15.]

The types and style are the same, only the letter Δ is absent, and cannot have been rubbed away, as the coin is in perfect condition. It is similar to Selymbria, No. 3, in *Cat. Brit. Mus.*, p. 70.

Another coin in my collection weighing 55.8 grs. (slightly rubbed) is similar to Selymbria No. 2 in *Cat. Brit. Mus.*

It seems to me probable that some of the coins also placed under "Selybria" in the Catalogue of the Berlin Museum (*Beschreibung d. antiken Münzen*, I. Band, 1888, p. 233, Nos. 4 to 7) belong to the Thracian Dicaea.

19. *Lysimachia in Thrace.* AR⁴. 82.2 grs.

Obv.—Head of young Herakles in lion's skin, r.

Rev.—[Λ]ΥΣΙΜΑΧΕΩΝ. Nike standing l., with wreath in r., and palm-branch in l.
In left field below, Φ ; in right field, Γ
(Wrongly marked Δ on Plate.) [Pl. I. 18.]

This unpublished coin was probably struck during the life of Lysimachus. The types of young Herakles on obverse and Nike with wreath and palm on reverse occur also on bronze coins of Lysimachia.

20. *Marcianopolis in Moesia Inferior.* Δ^8 . (Elagabalus and Julia Soaemias.)

Obv.—ΑΥΤΚΜΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC ΑΥΓΙΟΥ-ΛΙΑCOΥΑΙΜΙ. Bust of Elagabalus laur. r.; bust of Julia Soaemias l., facing one another.

Rev.—ΥΠΙ8ΛΑΝΤ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟ-ΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ. Naked youth facing slightly to l.; head turned to l., holding in right patera; in left two ears of corn (Bonus Eventus or Agathodaimon); hair tied in a bunch at back: in field to left Ξ . [Pl. I. 17.]

This coin is, so far as I know, unpublished. Soaemias is very rare on coins, especially in conjunction with Elagabalus, and the reverse with "Bonus Eventus" very interesting. It was probably suggested by a statue. Even if there were no such statue at Marcianopolis, we know from Pliny that there were statues of Agathodaimon at Rome by Praxiteles and by Euphranor.

21. *Perinthus in Thrace.* Δ^8 . (Elagabalus.)

Obv.—ΑΥΤΚΜΑΥΡΗΛ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC ΑΝ. Lau-reate bust of Elagabalus to r. Border of dots.

Rev.—ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝΔ[Ι] ΣΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ. Naked athlete facing, head turned to r., holding in right, palm-branch over his shoulder; in left, basket or prize-urn. The hair is tied up at the back of the head, as athletes used to wear it. Border of dots. [Pl. I. 18.]

The reverse of this beautiful coin represents a victor in the athletic games, and may have been suggested by a statue. Perinthus was famous for its games, and several imperial coins have reverses alluding to them; as, for instance, the tables with urns and palm-branches, and the legends **ΑΚΤΙΑ** and **ΠΥΘΙΑ** on large bronze coins of Caracalla and Geta. From Dr. Imhoof-Blumer I learn that a similar coin, struck under Gordian III, exists in the Vienna Museum.

22. *Perinthus.* \textsterling^6 . (Julia Maesa.)

Obr.—**ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΜΑΙCAAV.** Bust of Julia Maesa to r. Border of dots.

Rev.—**ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ ΔΙCΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ.** Concordia, or Tyche of City, standing to l., holding in r. patera, in l. cornucopiae; sacrificing at flaming altar. [Pl. I. 19.]

A similar coin is described in Mion., S. II, p. 429, 1346 (from Vaillant, *Num. Graec.*); but as the legend on the obverse is not given, the preservation of the coin is probably imperfect, while in this case it is perfect.

23. *Perinthus.* \textsterling^6 . (Gallienus.)

Obr.—**ΑΝΤΓΑΛΛΙΗΝΟC C[EB].** Radiate bust of Gallienus to r.

Rev.—**ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ[ΔΙC] ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ.** Apollo naked, standing l., resting with right arm on lyre, which is placed on a tripod entwined with serpent: he holds with his left a laurel-branch over his head. [Pl. I. 20.]

24. *Lysimachus, King of Thrace.* $\text{\textsterling}^{12}$. 256 grs.

Obr.—Head of deified Alexander with horn of Ammon r.

Rev.—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ.** Athena Nikephoros seated l. In exergue, A BY and eagle r. In right field, \ddagger . [Pl. II. 1a.]

This coin on a large flan is somewhat barbarous and of late workmanship, but it is interesting on account of the distinct evidence afforded by the eagle and legend in the exergue of its having been struck at Abydus.

A large number of small coins of *Mende* have come from Athens and Constantinople during the last four years. Mr. Wroth has published six amongst the acquisitions of the British Museum in the *Num. Chron.* for 1892, p. 6, and again three in the *Num. Chron.* for 1893, p. 2.

I shall give here three more, one of archaic, two of transitional, style.

25. *Mende.* AR¹. 5·9 grs.

Obv.—Μ. Fore-part of ass to r.

Rev.—Incuse square, mill-sail pattern. [Pl. II. 1.]

26. *Mende.* AR¹. 5 grs.

Obv.—Ass standing r. Border of dots.

Rev.—Crow standing l. in incuse square. [Pl. II. 2.]

This is the half of the obol published by Mr. Wroth in *Num. Chron.*, 1893, p. 2, with this difference, that the crow on this coin stands to left, on the obol to right.

27. *Mende.* AR¹. 19·1 grs.

Obv.—Ass standing r. Border of dots.

Rev.—ΜΙΝ. Amphora, ivy-branch in left field, in incuse field. [Pl. II. 3.]

This diobol, in perfect condition, seems new.

28. *Thraco-Macedonian*, uncertain. AR^1 . 16.5 grs.

Obr.—Rider naked, sitting sideways, cantering to r.; covering of head indistinct; petasus (?).

Rev.—Quadripartite incuse. [Pl. II. 4.]

The rider is almost certainly male. The incuse is similar to the earliest coins of Thasos; cf., for instance, a stater in my possession, published by Canon Greenwell in *Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 2, Pl. I. 2, "On a Find of Archaic Greek Coins in Egypt," and a stater of Lete in the same paper (Pl. I. 3).

I ought, however, to state that my friend, Dr. J. P. Six, is inclined to attribute this coin to Kelenderis, and that there are certainly points in favour of his view; but the incuse seems to indicate a Thraco-Macedonian origin.

29. Early King of Macedon, *Alexander I*, or *Perdiccas II*. AR^1 . 197.6 grs.

Obr.—Horseman advancing r., wearing kausia and holding two spears horizontally, on beaded line of exergue. Border of dots.

Rev.—Head in crested helmet r., incuse square, with finely granulated surface. [Pl. II. 5.]

Dr. Imhoof-Blumer has shown me a cast from a coin in the Luynes collection at Paris, which is probably from the same die, with the same peculiar granulation of the incuse square. The coin here represented seems, however, to be in more perfect preservation.

30. *Atrax in Thessaly*. AE^4 .

Obr.—Bearded male head to l. (the hero Atrax?).

Rev.—[AQ]TA. Cupping-vase and a forceps in left field. Border of dots; shallow round incuse. [Pl. II. 6.]





The coin is interesting on account of the head, which is in the best style, and has an expressive countenance, different from that of the usual deities. It may represent the local Hero. The reverse is less well preserved, but sufficiently distinct to show the relation to the cultus of Asklepios. Dr. Constantine P. J. Lambros gives a similar reverse in his interesting work on Cupping-vases and Cupping among the ancients;⁸ but his coin is of a later style, and has on the obverse the head of Apollo. My coin seems to belong to the middle, perhaps the first half, of the fourth century B.C.

31. *Atrax.* AR⁴.

Obv.—Bearded male head to r.

Rev.—ΑΤΡΑ ΓΙΩΝ. Bull butting to r., on plain line of exergue. [Pl. II. 7.]

The work is of later style than the preceding, perhaps of first half of third century B.C. The head may possibly be that of the same Hero, but may also be regarded as that of bearded Herakles.

32. *Boeotia*, uncertain mint (probably Thebes). AR⁴. 191.1 grs. (Stater.)

Obv.—Boeotian shield.

Rev.—Incuse square, divided into eight triangular spaces, of which four are deeply indented. [Pl. II. 8.]

⁸ Περὶ σικυῶν καὶ σικυάστεως παρὰ τοῖς ὄρχαῖσι. By Const. P. J. Lambros. Athens, 1895. P. 18, No. 51. See also on the "Cupping-vase" the work of P. Lambros, Νομίσματα τῆς νήσου Αμοργοῦ. Athens, 1870.

The drachms and smaller divisions of this, probably the earliest coinage of Boeotia, are well known and in many collections, but the didrachm is, as far as I know, unpublished, and possibly as yet unique. It belonged to a well-known collector formerly at Constantinople, who had obtained it from an amateur dealer at Athens. In the Catalogue of the British Museum⁹ the drachms of this type head the description of the coins of Boeotia with weights varying from 89.5 to 95 grains.

83. *Cnossus.* AR^{7 by 5}. 170.5 grs.

Obv.—Head of Demeter or Persephone to r., wearing earring with pendants; hair rolled and bound with corn wreath.

Rev.—[K] Ν Ω Σ in the four spaces between the four limbs of the labyrinth of Maeander pattern, in the centre of which are five points ∴; the whole in deep concave field, or concave incuse.

[Pl. II. 9.]

The work of the head is remarkably fine and bold as on only few Cretan coins; and this is the plea for describing the coin in this paper, although it is somewhat similar to the coin described in the Catalogue of the British Museum, p. 18, 4 (without legend and with only four dots in centre of labyrinth), and to that of Pl. V. 13, in Svoronos' *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne*, 1890.

84. *Praesus.* AR⁴. 185.5 grs.

Obv.—Cow (?) or mare to r., turning head backwards towards an infant kneeling and apparently sucking.

Rev.—Π Π ΑΙ Σ. Archer [Herakles?] bending his bow; linear square within incuse square. [Pl. II. 10.]

⁹ Catalogue of Greek Coins, Central Greece. By Barclay V. Head. 1884. P. 82, Nos. 1 to 6.

There seems to be only one similar coin known, which is in the Paris collection, and is of earlier and ruder style. It has been described by M. Babelon in *Rev. Num.*, 1885, p. 161, Pl. VIII. 8, and is reproduced by Svoronos, *i.e.*, Pl. XXVII. 2. On the Paris coin the animal stands to left, not to right.

It seems to me not quite easy to explain the obverse type, if it is connected with the myth of Zeus Κρηταγενής; for Zeus is said to have been brought up on the milk of the goat Amalthea. If the intention were to represent Zeus and Io, it could not be regarded as Io suckling Zeus, but would point to another scene of the same kind. Babelon calls the animal a "taureau;" but on the coin here represented it has much more the appearance of a mare or a cow than of a bull. There remains the possibility of another local myth with which we are unacquainted at present.

85. *Tarra.* ·*AR^t.* 78·1 grs.

Obv. —  A. Head and neck of goat to r.; beneath, arrowhead to l.

Rev. — Bee in concave field. Border of dots. [Pl. II. 11.]

This drachm was sold in the Whittall sale (1884, No. 627) as of Hyrtacina. Although I saw at once that this attribution was incorrect, I did not know to what place to assign it, until Mr. Svoronos of Athens pointed out to me that it belonged to Tarra, a town in the south-west of Crete, close to Hyrtacina and Elyrus, with which towns it was intimately allied and evidently in a monetary union. The types of the three towns are the same, only the legends are different. Mr. Svoronos has

published the coin in the *Rerue Num.* of 1883,¹⁰ and in his *Numismatique de la Crète*.¹¹ I think, however, it deserves to be depicted in this place, as it is unique, scarcely known to English numismatists, and forms part of an English collection.

36. Uncertain Greek island (?). AR¹⁴. 10·7 grs.

Obr.—Tortoise, structure of shell accurately shewn.

Rev.—**KVON** (?). Head and neck of bull to r., with indistinct legend above head. Border of dots. Round incuse. [Pl. II. 12.]

The legend is unfortunately indistinct, although otherwise the preservation of the coin is good. Mr. J. P. Six is inclined to read it **KVON**, which would point to the island of Kythnos.

I do not know, however, of any silver coins of Kythnos, and the types of the bronze coins of this island differ from those on this coin. The bull's head occurs on coins of Euboea, Crete, and Macedon, but we do not meet with the tortoise on the coins of these localities. It may perhaps point to an alliance between Aegina and a place with the bull type.

Canon Greenwell¹² has discussed the electrum coinage of Cyzicus so thoroughly that it is rarely possible to make an important addition; nor am I able to add any new types on this occasion; but I may describe these three new hectae and two staters in a better state of preservation than any hitherto published.

¹⁰ "Alliance monétaire entre les quatre villes, Elyros, Hyrtacos, Lisos et Tarrha." *Rer. Num.*, 1888. P. 380-387.

¹¹ *L. c.*, p. 320, 321. Pl. XXX. 27.

¹² "The Electrum Coinage of Cyzicus." By the Rev. Canon W. Greenwell, F.R.S., F.S.A. *Num. Chron.*, 1887, pp. 1-125.

87. *a. Cyzicus.* El.⁴. 247·8 grs.

Obr.—Female figure wearing long chiton, seated l. on dolphin; she holds in her right a wreath, and on her left arm a shield with star on it. Beneath, tunny left. [Pl. II. 13.]

Rev.—Usual incuse, granular.

This is Canon Greenwell's type No. 48, p. 72. He depicts two coins, Pl. II. 26 and 27, which supplement one another, neither of them showing the entire type. The coin here depicted does so. Canon Greenwell's interpretation of the type, viz., the commemoration of a victory, possibly of the Athenians under Alcibiades over the Spartan fleet, off Cyzicus, has much in its favour.

88. *b. Cyzicus.* El.⁵. 247 grs.

Obr.—Winged dog (?) crouching to l. on tunny; head turned backwards. [Pl. II. 14.]

Rev.—Usual incuse, with granular surface.

This is Canon Greenwell's No. 140, p. 116, Pl. VI. 1. The coin here depicted shows the whole type with the head and wings perfect, which are partly off the flan on the Greenwell coin. The head, and perhaps also the back part, do not appear to me exactly like those of the usual domestic kinds of the dog; but I am not able to give a better name to this mythical creature.

89. *c. Cyzicus.* El.⁴. 41·5 grs.

Obr.—Archaic head, wearing helmet which terminates at the back in a rounded wing; hair represented by dots beneath helmet on the forehead and back; eyes facing. Necklace of beads. Tunny behind, downwards. [Pl. II. 15.]

Rev.—Usual incuse.

In the "Coinage of Cyzicus" the stater of this type is described at p. 88, No. 73, with two representations, Pl. III. 24 and 25. Only one other hecta seems to be known, namely, in the Museum at Munich. This is one of the oldest coins of Cyzicus, and in a chronological arrangement ought to precede the other coins here described. The dotted arrangement of the hair and the full-face eye are better shown on the hecta than on the staters. Also the necklace of beads is quite distinct, while it is barely indicated on the staters depicted in the "Electrum Coinage." On a stater in my collection the collar looks almost like a broad band, probably from the wear of the coin. I scarcely think that the head can be regarded as that of Perseus. The features appear to be female, and the necklace is in favour of the female sex; but I cannot attribute it to any special personage.

40. *d. Cyzicus.* El.¹⁴. 40·1 grs.

Obv.—Archaic beardless head to l. with short hair, arranged in dots; eye nearly facing; thick lips and nose. Behind, tunny, downwards.

[Pl. II. 16.]

Rev.—Usual incuse, not granulated.

This is the hecta of Canon Greenwell's stater No. 79, p. 92. No hecta was known to him at the time of publication. I do not know who may be the personage represented by this head. I scarcely think that it can be intended for the founder of Cyzicus, who is represented on bronze coins of the city (*Cf. Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Mysia*, Pl. XI., Nos. 6 and 8). Even if we make allowance for the differences due to the periods at which this electrum coin and the bronze

coins were issued, we cannot see any resemblance between them.

41. *e. Cyzicus.* El.². 41 grs.

Obv.—Herakles kneeling to r. on tunny, strangling Nemean lion. [Pl. II. 17.]

Rev.—Usual incuse, granular surface.

This becta belongs to the stater, No 69, Pl. III. 20, of Greenwell's *Electrum Coinage*.

42. *Lampsacus.* A⁴. 180·4 grs.

Obv.—Noble female head to l. (Hera), wearing stephanos adorned with palm-leaves, and necklace, but no earrings.

Rev.—Fore-part of winged horse r., within incuse square. [Pl. II. 18.]

This beautiful stater is, I think, unpublished ; the head is one of the noblest designed on Greek coins. The expression of the face is proud and serious. I have not seen the stater called in Brandis "Herakopf."

43. *Lampsacus.* A⁸¹. 129·9 grs.

Obv.—Head of Dionysos to l., bearded and wreathed with ivy.

Rev.—Fore-part of winged horse r.; indication of incuse square. [Pl. II. 19.]

This fine head of Dionysos is represented as above middle age, serious and thoughtful.

44. *Thymbra, Troadis.* A³.

Obv.—Head of Athena in crested Athenian helmet to l.

Rev.—Θ V. Torch; all in olive wreath. [Pl. II. 20.]

This coin seems to belong to the middle or latter half

of the fourth century, from about the same time as the usual copper coins of Thymbra, with the type of Zeus Ammon and Star. It is remarkable that a number of towns in the Troad struck beautiful bronze coins at about the same period, viz. Antandrus, Assus, Birytis, Cebrene, Colone, Dardanus, Gargara, Gentinus, Gergis, Lamponia, Neandria, Ophrynum, Scepsis, Sigeum.

45. *Samos, Insula.* AR^3 . 52 grs. (Drachm.)

Obr.—Fore-part of bull r.; truncation plain.

Rev.—Lion's head r., with open jaws, within a square of double lines, within which, square of dots; the whole in incuse square.

This is the drachm corresponding to the didrachm of the British Museum collection, published in Prof. Gardner's¹³ essay on the coins of Samos, p. 228, 7, and in Dr. Head's Catalogue of the Coins of Ionia, &c., in the British Museum, p. 352, 23. The types are the same; the only difference is that in the drachm the truncation is plain, while in the didrachm it is dotted. It belongs to the latter part of Prof. Gardner's first period, and was struck presumably about the middle of the fifth century B.C.

46. *Samos.* $\text{AR}^{\frac{1}{4} \text{ by } \frac{1}{4}}$. 280.5 grs. (Tetradrachm.)

Obr.—Lion's scalp.

Rev.—ΣΑ in right field below. Fore-part of bull r.; truncation dotted; olive branch behind. Above, [Α]ΛΚΜΕΩΝ and below this Η ΓΕΜΟΝΕΩΣ in small letters.

This coin belongs to Professor Gardner's fourth period (394—305 B.C.), and the magistrates, so far as I know, are new.

¹³ "Samos and Samian Coins." *Num. Chron.*, 1882, pp. 200 to 290.

47. *Cos, Insula.* AR⁶. 224·9 grs.*Obv.*—Head of bearded Herakles in lion's skin to l.*Rev.*—ΚΩΝΙΟΝ. Crab and club, with ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ in exergue.

The magistrate's name on this tetradrachm is apparently new.

48. *Camirus, Rhodi.* El.¹. 7·6 grs.*Obv.*—Fig-leaf.*Rev.*—Square incuse. [Pl. III. 1.]

Several of these electrum coins, formerly unknown, have lately come into the market from Smyrna.

49. *Beudus Vetus in Phrygia.* AE³.*Obv.*—ΚΑΙϹΑΡ ΑΔΡΙΑΝ[ΟC] Laur. bust of Hadrian to r.*Rev.*—ΠΑΛΑΙΟ ΒΕΝΔΗΝΩΝ. Demeter standing l., wearing chiton, diplois, and veil, holding in right hand a long torch or sceptre; in left, two ears of corn and poppy. [Pl. III. 2.]

This rare little coin is published here because it shows distinctly that the legend is not ΒΕΝΔΗΝΩΝ ΠΑΛΑΙΩΝ, as is usually given, but ΠΑΛΑΙΟ ΒΕΝΔΗΝΩΝ. The object which Demeter holds in her right hand is probably not a sceptre, but a long torch, which is a frequent attribute of the goddess on coins of Asia Minor. Compare a similar reverse on a coin of Hadriani under Commodus in the British Museum (*Cat. Mysia*, Pl. XVII. 8).

50. *Celenderis in Cilicia.* AR³. 74·2 grs.*Obv.*—Fore-part of goat r. Border of dots.*Rev.*—Deep incuse square without distinct division.

[Pl. III. 3.]..

This may be the earliest coin of Celenderis known. It is an Aeginetic drachm, which has lost by wear.

51. AR⁶. 161·4 grs.

Obv.—Naked horseman riding sideways on prancing horse to r., holding whip in right hand, rein in left; single dotted line of exergue. Border of dots.

Rev.—**KEΛE** above, **ΝΔ** in front of goat, kneeling on right knee, head turned back; double line of exergue, the lower dotted; **IN** behind goat. In exergue, **OKITIPE**. The whole in incuse square. [Pl. III. 4.]

This coin was sold to me, together with the following coins. The workmanship is good, and competent judges have declared it genuine. The hitherto unknown occurrence of the name of a tyrant or a magistrate in the exergue raises, however, some faint doubts in my mind, which will perhaps be dispersed by the finding of similar coins.

52. AR¹. 18 grs.

Obv.—Fore-part of Pegasus to r.

Rev.—**KEΛ.** Goat kneeling to r., looking backward. [Pl. III. 5.]

53. AR¹. 6·5 grs.

Obv.—Same as 52.

Rev.—**KE.** Same as 52. [Pl. III. 6.]

Dr. Imhoof-Blumer has published coins with similar types, but with slight variations.

54. AR¹. 15·5 grs.*Obv.*—Gorgon's head.*Rev.*—Fore-part of Pegasus to r. in incuse square. Part of letters ΚΕΛ(?) in left field. [Pl. III. 7.]55. AR¹. 10·3 grs.*Obv.*—Gorgon's head.*Rev.*—Fore-part of Pegasus to l. in beaded square; the whole in incuse square. [Pl. III. 8.]56. AR¹. 11·9 grs.*Obv.*—Gorgon's head.*Rev.*—Horse prancing to r., in incuse square. [Pl. III. 9.]

Dr. Imhoof-Blumer¹⁴ has published in his *Griech. Münzen* a small coin of similar weight, with the horse on the obverse and half a goat with the legend on the reverse.¹⁵

57. Celenderis. AR¹. 7·0 grs.*Obv.*—Head of bearded Herakles, in lion's skin, r.*Rev.*—Pegasns flying r., in incuse square. [Pl. III. 10.]

A find of Cilician coins seems to have been made quite lately, as all the coins from 51 to 57 came to me (through Constantinople) in the course of last summer (1895), together with a few other earlier Cilician coins. Although some of them are without legend and have for the most part new types, I can scarcely hesitate to

¹⁴ *Griechische Münzen*, von F. Imhoof-Blumer. München, 1890, p. 182, (706), 554, and 555. Taf. XI. No. 10.

¹⁵ L. c. p. 182 = 556. Taf. XI. 11.

attribute them to Celenderis, as all of them are of similar style, and are connected with one another either by the obverses or by the reverses. The types, especially the Gorgon's head and the Pegasus, remind one of Corinth, but the style is quite different from that of the Corinthian coins. One or two are somewhat like coins of Methymna in style, inasmuch as they have the same beaded square within the incuse square.

58. *Isaura in Cilicia.* AE⁴.

Obv.—Head of young Herakles in lion's skin r. Border of dots.

Rev.—IC A V PΩN. Rider, probably female, in short chiton fastened round waist, sitting sideways on lion galloping to r. The figure seems to wear a helmet, and wields in the raised hand a short sword. [Pl. III. 11.]

This type refers probably to a local myth, which perhaps some archaeologist may be able to supply.

The coin was probably struck in imperial times, although the work is unusually good for such a late period.

59. *Isaura.* AE⁷.

Obv.—AVKMAV ANTΩNEINOC. Laur. and cuirassed bust of Elagabalus r. Border of dots.

Rev.—ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟ ΛΕΩC ICAVΡΩN. Military figure (emperor ?) standing to r., resting on long spear or sceptre, extending right hand towards a naked figure opposite to him. This figure (Apollo ?) rests his left arm on a laurel branch, and holds in his right an object together with the military figure opposite to him. At his feet lies an animal, probably a hind or goat, turning its head towards him. In the exergue, an altar. Border of dots. [Pl. III. 12.]





The type may represent Apollo, as the divine founder of the city, entering into a compact with the emperor. A similar coin is given in Mion., III., p. 531, 6, but apparently rather smaller and less complete, as the laurel-branch, and the altar and the object held by the two figures, are not noticed.

60. *Mallus in Cilicia.* AR¹⁵. 9 grs.

Obv.—M in front of head of Athena, in close-fitting helmet, left.

Rev.—Swan to right, wings raised; ♀ in front; all in incuse square. [Pl. III. 13.]

This pretty little obol belongs no doubt to Mallus, where the swan, sacred to Aphrodite, was one of the earliest coin types. Dr. Imhoof-Blumer published a somewhat similar one in *Mon. Gr.*, p. 358, 36, but with the head of bearded Herakles on the obverse instead of that of Athena.

61. *Cyprus; Salamis; Gorgos.* AR¹⁶. 28 grs.

Obv.—Ram recumbent r.; above, dot in crescent, over which ♀; below, Η Φ Φ.

Rev.—In square incuse, crux ansata with double ring, the outer dotted, the inner plain, in the centre of which *. [Pl. III. 14.]

This pretty diobol is a subdivision of the coin described by J. P. Six.¹⁶

¹⁵ "Du classement des Séries Cypriotes." *Revue Numismat.*, 1883, p. 271, 19.

62. *Cyprus; Salamis; Nicodamus.* AR². 25·9 grs.

Obr.—Ram recumbent to l. Above, ♀ ☈ ♀.

Rev.—In incuse square, crux ansata, with double ring, the outer dotted, the inner plain; within ☈.

[Pl. III. 15.]

This diobol is a variety of the piece described by J. P. Six, *l.c.*, p. 275, 30, and of the tetrobol published by Babelon, *l.c.*, p. 85, 575, Pl. XVI. 16.

63. *Evagoras II.* AR⁶. 281·9 grs.

Obr.—Artaxerxes III, (Ochus), the King of Persia, half kneeling to r. on right knee, drawing his bow; he wears the royal tiara, is richly dressed in the candys, and has a quiver with seven arrows on his shoulder. Plain line of exergue. Behind the king, BA in large letters. Border of large dots.

Rev.—Rider galloping right, on richly caparisoned horse; he wears a low tiara, and brandishes a spear with the right hand; head of bearded Herakles in lion's skin in left field. Border of dots.

[Pl. III. 16.]

This remarkably well-preserved tetradrachm differs from those published by J. P. Six¹⁷ and Babelon¹⁸ in having the letters BA on the obverse, designating the archer as the Great King. With this exception, it is very similar to the coin of the British Museum published by J. P. Six, No. 1 of the series.

I possess another variety with the star before the rider—J. P. Six, No. 2, and Babelon, No. 623—but instead of ☈ before the king, as in these specimens and in one in

¹⁷ J. P. Six, "Monnaies des Satrapes de Carie." *Num. Chron.*, 1877, p. 81.

¹⁸ *Les Perses Achéménides*, 1893, pp. 91, 92, 620 to 623. T. XVII. 14, 15, 16.

Dr. Imhoof-Blumer's collection, I am inclined to read ♀, and behind the king there seems to be a symbol ☐, or an animal's head. The preservation, however, is so poor, that I am not sure of this.

64. *Cyprus: Amathus (?) ; Zotimos.* AR⁶. 169 grs.

Obv.—Lion crouching r., roaring. Above, eagle flying r.; and between eagle and lion ☐. Double line of exergue, the upper plain, the lower dotted. Traces of letters in exergue. Border of dots.

Rev.—Fore-part of roaring lion r.; truncation dotted. Border of dots. All in round incuse.

[Pl. III. 17.]

This stater seems to be a variety of the one described by J. P. Six, *l.c.*, Plate VI. 21, p. 308, 18, and Pl. VII. 1, p. 307, 4, and of a subdivision, p. 308, 17; and by Babelon, *l.c.*, Pl. XX. 3, p. 106, 731.

65. *Amathus (?)*. AR^{3 by 3 1/2}. 54.5 grs.

Obv.—The same as the preceding, but without the letter above the lion. Possibly traces of letters in exergue.

Rev.—The same type as the preceding, but in dotted square instead of round border. [Pl. III. 18.]

This coin is probably somewhat earlier than the preceding, and may have been struck by the unknown predecessor of Zotimos. If the preceding is the stater, this would be a third of the stater, unless a change in the standard had taken place, which is not likely.

66. *Amathus.* AR². 16.8 grs.

Obv.—Lion crouching r., roaring; above, eagle flying to r. Portions of letters in front and above.

Double line of exergue; the upper plain, the lower bordered. A slanting line in exergue.

Rev.—Fore-part of roaring lion r.; truncation dotted; square border around; the whole in incuse.

[Pl. III. 19.]

This is a further subdivision of the preceding coin, a diabol, or trihemibol. The slanting line in the exergue may possibly be only a flaw.

67. *Cyprus: Marium, Stasioicos (?)*. AR¹. 10·5 grs.

Obv.—MAPI. Bearded head r.; hair rolled up on back and forehead in female fashion, in concave field. Dionysos or Zeus (?).

Rev.—Head of Aphrodite l., wearing stephanos, round earring, and necklace with pendant; hair raised in chignon. Border of dots. [Pl. III. 20.]

This obol has types similar to those of a small gold coin published by J. P. Six, *l.c.*, p. 344, and of another published by Babelon, *l.c.*, p. 112, 770; but the head on the obverse is different, and appears to me to represent Dionysos rather than Zeus.

68. *Paphos (uncertain king)*. AR³. 162·9 grs.

Obv.—Bull, with bearded human face, kneeling r., head turned back. Dotted line of exergue. In field above, Ρ Ω (or Σ ?); in exergue, μ Λ (?)

Rev.—Astragalus; on right, ♫, on left, Σ. Concave field. Border of dots. [Pl. III. 21.]

The types are the same as those of the coins described by J. P. Six, *l.c.*, p. 352, No. 2, VII. 14, and by Babelon, *l.c.*, p. 108, 743, XX. 11; but the legend is different. The letters are unfortunately not quite distinct.

69. *Paphos*: *Pnytos?* AR³. 40.8 grs.

Obv.—Laureate head of Zeus to r., with a remarkably large hooked nose.

Rev.— Eagle, with closed wings, standing left; in front, crux ansata; beaded square within incuse square; in upper right corner, spray of laurel with three berries. [Pl. III. 22.]

This tetrobol, which is quite new, seems to belong to the series of Pnytos, Six, *l.c.*, p. 354, with the bull on the obverse and eagle's head or eagle on the reverse. Cf. Babelon, p. 108, 745 to 748, and Pl. XX. 13, 14, 15, 16. The reverse of the coin figured by Babelon (XX. 16), is indeed similar to that of my coin, but the head of Zeus is new, and strongly Semitic in appearance.

HERMANN WEBER.

II.

A PORTRAIT OF PERSEUS OF MACEDON.

(See Plate IV.)

In the Guide to the Græco-Roman Sculptures in the British Museum (1874), in the description of a well-known Greek head¹ from Hadrian's Villa (No. 139, p. 48), the following remarks occur :—

“This head seems to possess those characteristics which we associate with the Macedonian period of sculpture, and the features present a striking likeness to a head on the silver tetradrachms of Philip V. of Macedon, which appears to represent that king or some member of the family in the character of the hero Perseus.”

This head, which is here reproduced (Plate IV., No. 5), has been frequently published,² but none of these publications give the profile view. Two similar heads also exist, one in the Louvre³ (Plate IV., No. 4), the

¹ Restorations: the nose, a small portion of each lip, part of the lobe of the left ear, a tuft of hair on the top of the head, and the bust.

² *Museum Marbles*, ii. 23; Brunn's *Denkmäler*, No. 80; Murray, *Handbook of Greek Archaeology*, p. 299; Petersen in *Röm. Mitth.*, 1895, p. 185.

³ This I am able to reproduce by the kind permission of M. Héron de Villefosse, to whom I owe the photograph and information as to the pedigree of the head. In this the nose alone has been restored, and that only partially. On the right, the nostril and the greater part of the nose are ancient; on the left, the nostril is modern, and the restoration of the nose extends farther than on the other side.

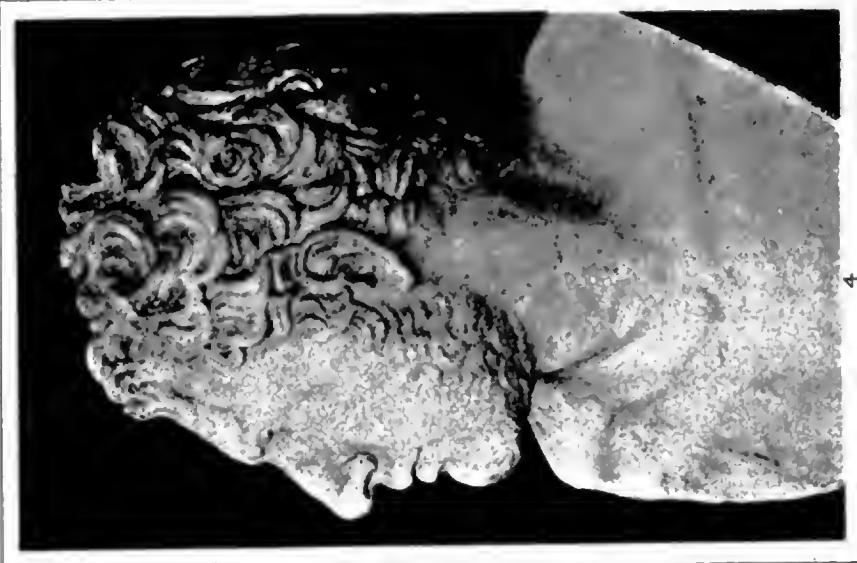
Antonini



5



3



4



other in the Vatican.⁴ The tetradrachm of Philip V. referred to in the Guide, is given here (Plate IV., No. 2), along with two tetradrachms of Perseus (Nos. 1 and 3) presenting the portrait of that king.

The first point that is clear is, that the person represented with the attributes of the hero Perseus is not Philip V. A glance at Head's *Guide to the Gold and Silver Coins of the Ancients* (Plate XLI. Nos. 7 and 8), or at Imhoof-Blumer's *Porträtköpfe* (Plate II. Nos. 12 and 10—where, however, the representation of the heroized person is less satisfactory) is sufficient to establish this fact. The expression, the profile, the modelling of the region of the eye especially, and of the face generally, the treatment of the hair, and the proportions are altogether different. Sir Charles Newton showed his sense of these differences when he added the words, "or of some member of the family."

Newton expressed no opinion as to which member of the family is represented. There seems to me to be but little doubt that it is Perseus, Philip's eldest son. A comparison of the head of the hero with that of the king, as represented here (Plate IV., Nos. 1 and 3) will, I think, make it clear that the model is the same person in both cases. We find in both the same expression, profile, proportions, and treatment of the hair. If we add to this striking resemblance the fact that the head on Philip's tetradrachm is represented with the attributes of the eponymous hero of his son, it becomes difficult not to admit that it is that son whom we have to recognise in this heroic guise.⁵

⁴ Petersen, *l. c.*, p. 134.

⁵ I may be allowed to add that Mr. Head has always been of this opinion, and that Professor Studniczka, as he informs me,

If we ask why the head of the son should appear on the coins of the father, the answer can only be conjectural. But I would suggest that these coins were struck by Perseus, with the name and authority of his father, while the latter was absent from his kingdom ; as, for instance, when towards the end of his reign he went on his expedition against the Pœonians. Perseus could then hardly have represented his own portrait undisguisedly on the coins which he issued ; but he did the next best thing. The head of the hero Perseus was a common type of Philip's coinage, and Perseus the prince merely replaced the ideal head by his own portrait in the guise of his eponymous hero. Whether this conjecture is right or not, does not affect the main point, which is, that the head of the prince Perseus does appear in disguise on the coins of his father.

The next matter with which we have to deal is the resemblance to the portrait of Perseus, whether disguised or undisguised, of the marble heads mentioned above. The recognition of the resemblance is, as I have already indicated, in the first place due to Newton.⁶ But Professor Studniczka informs me that the idea had also occurred to him. He has, however, since discarded it, owing to the remarks of Petersen,⁷ which I must briefly mention. Petersen publishes the British Museum and

came independently to the same conclusion. By a significant slip in Imhoof-Blumer's *Porträt-köpfe* (p. 15) the heroized head is described as occurring on a coin reading ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΕΡΣΕΩΣ.

⁶ It was on looking at the coins of Perseus himself that the identification occurred to me ; and it was only on going into the question that I discovered how near Newton had been to what seems to me the right solution.

⁷ *L. c.*, pp. 188 ff.

Vatican heads together, and regards them as ideal portraits of Greeks of the time of Attalus, corresponding to the heads of the Gaulish invaders who were represented by the Pergamene artists. A third head, in the Museo Nazionale at Naples, he regards, on the other hand, as a portrait—possibly of Attalus himself. As to the view that the heads from Hadrian's Villa, and the similar head in the Louvre (which Petersen does not mention) are not portraits, I can only say that I am not alone in regarding these heads as presenting by no means generic types, but rather a distinct individuality.

There are a few points which it will be well to deal with, in view of possible objections. The date of Perseus' reign (178—168 B.C.) is admirably suited to the style of the head. It is, of course, quite possible that the portrait may have been made before the prince's accession to the throne. This suggestion is the more to be considered, as the identification was first made by Newton through a comparison with the coin struck before Perseus' accession. The fact that Perseus was still only a prince would also explain the absence of the diadem. But the absence of this decoration seems to me to be no difficulty in view of the fact that, for instance, a number of the portraits of Alexander the Great are without it.

The nose of the British Museum head has been entirely restored, and to resemble that of the acknowledged portrait on the coins should be slightly longer, the angle between nose and upper lip being a right angle. In this point the Louvre head is probably nearer the original, the nose having been only partially restored. The hair of the British Museum head is treated very

boldly, in large curly masses. The general outline of the hair on the forehead and temples is, however, similar to that seen in the coin-portraits, and the disposition of the masses of the hair is characteristic of the work of the Pergamene school. A certain latitude in treatment might be allowed to a great artist, whereas the official portrait on the coins (at least of this time) would be more faithful. As regards the modelling of the face, the prominence of the outer corner of the eyebrows is in keeping with the portrait on the coins.

By the courtesy of Professor Studniczka I have been enabled to see a photograph of the head of a bronze statue⁸ in Rome, which he regards as the portrait of Perseus. I am bound to admit that this head shows certain points of resemblance to the portrait of Perseus, but the identification does not seem to me to be convincing. The chief point of difference is in the nose, which in the bronze is slightly aquiline. Now, all the portraits of Perseus agree in showing that his nose was not in the least degree aquiline. Although there is a distinct protuberance on the bridge, the main line of the nose is perfectly straight, and the angle between upper lip and nose is a right angle, not acute as on the bronze. Further, the protuberance of the frontal bone in the bronze is greater than on the coins, and there is a marked difference in the way in which the hair lies on the forehead, instead of standing up from it.

The identification of ancient portraits is, under the best of circumstances, somewhat uncertain. The pecu-

⁸ *Antike Denkmäler*, i., Pl. V., where, however, the details of the execution of the slight beard and moustache are hardly visible.

liarily intense expression of the head which we have described, may, it has been suggested, be ascribed rather to the style of the period than to the model. But this expression does not exhaust the portrait-character of the head. I think we may be certain that the head is a portrait; by which I do not exclude the possibility that Perseus may have been represented in a group in the character of some hero.

G. F. HILL.

III.

ON SOME RARE OR UNPUBLISHED ROMAN MEDALLIONS.

SECOND CONTRIBUTION (*see Num. Chron.*, Ser. III., vol. xi., p. 152).

(See Plate V.)

THE question as to the origin and purpose of what are usually known as Imperial Roman Medallions has of late years received considerable attention from Continental numismatists, and some entirely new views have been broached upon the subject.

The most exhaustive exposition of these views was given in December, 1881, to the Numismatic Society of Vienna, in an address by our honorary member, Dr. Friedrich Kenner, the accomplished Keeper of the Imperial and Royal Cabinet of Coins at Vienna. An amplification of this address is printed in the *Numismatische Zeitschrift* for 1887, in an article extending over 173 pages, and an abstract of this in Italian has been given by Sig. Francesco Gnechi, who seems entirely to concur with Dr. Kenner, in the *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, vol. ii., 1889.

I shall not attempt to give any *résumé* of either of these articles, but shall content myself with pointing out some of the principal conclusions at which Kenner has arrived, and which have been adopted by F. Gnechi,

and shall confine myself mainly to the consideration of the medallions in bronze, leaving aside those in gold or silver, many of which were in all probability intended for currency as money.

The bronze medallions, however, have been usually regarded as being more of the nature of what in modern times are known as medals, than as having been intended to form part of the ordinary currency. Eckhel¹ and Lenormant² are both strong advocates of this view, while Fröhner,³ though admitting that most medallions are more or less multiples in weight of some monetary unit, is inclined to place them in a category by themselves.

The advocates of the new views admit this to a certain extent, as they are willing to acknowledge that as a rule the medallions were struck for the purpose of being given away as a kind of *largesse* by the Emperor, but that having once been given away they were capable of entering into the ordinary currency, and of constituting the larger denominations of the coinage. In support of this view it is urged that as a rule medallions show considerable signs of wear, and are in much the same state of preservation as the ordinary coins of the same period. Against this it may be suggested that if the medallions were preserved as tokens of imperial favour and carried about the person, they would certainly become worn by friction. The condition of a spade guinea attached to a watch-chain or worn as an ornament deteriorates even more rapidly than if it had remained in circulation.

¹ *Doct. Num.*, I., p. xvii.

² *La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i., p. 22.

³ *Les Médailles de l'Empire Romain*, 1878, p. x.

It is of course conceded on all sides that the large pieces of the time of Trajanus Decius with S. C. upon them were struck as current money. They are indeed multiples of the sestertius or "large brass" coins of the period, and the fact that they were intended for circulation gives some weight to the opinion that such an issue was not an entire novelty, but that a certain number of such large coins or medallions were already in circulation at the time when they were struck. The absence of the letters S. C. on the ordinary medallions was, however, regarded by Eckhel as a precaution against such pieces becoming mixed with the ordinary bronze coinage which bore these letters in token that it was issued under the authority of the Senate.

But under the new criticism this argument of Eckhel's is found wanting. It is universally acknowledged that the emperors arrogated to themselves the right of coining money in gold and silver, leaving to the Senate the power of coining the inferior metals, copper and bronze. There were therefore at Rome two mints in operation, those respectively of the Emperor and of the Senate; and so long as it is assumed that the latter had the exclusive right of coining the baser metals, and that nothing but gold and silver issued from the former, there is a considerable amount of weight in Eckhel's argument. If, however, it once be admitted that in addition to those in the precious metals a smaller or larger number of bronze or copper coins, it matters not of what denomination, were struck in the Imperial mint, the whole aspect of the question is changed.

Looking at the personal character of so many of the reverses of the medallions recording expeditions, addresses to the army, religious ceremonies in which the Emperor

has taken part, and in the case of Commodus, his assumption of the character of Hercules, it seems more likely that these commemorative medals or coins should have been struck by the workmen in the mint of the Emperor than in that of the Senate. The style of the work, which in many cases comes nearer to that in which the dies for the gold coins were engraved than to that of those for the ordinary copper currency, also favours this view. The usual weight of the blank was, as Dr. Kenner has pointed out, just about five times that of the As, though not unfrequently five and a half times, six times, or even eight times. Such a variation may, with some show of reason, be regarded as affording an argument against these pieces having been intended for currency, as there is no symbol of weight or value upon them.

Still, the probability remains of a large proportion of the medallions having been prepared in the Imperial mint. On the other hand, there are certain pieces which seem more probably to have come from the Senatorial mint. Such, for instance, are the new-year offerings to Hadrian and Antoninus Pius with S.P.Q.R.A.N.F.F. OPTIMO PRINCIPI PIO, and those of Gallienus, with GALLIENVM AVG. P.R. OB CONSERVATIONEM SALVTIS, which, moreover, seem well adapted by their weight to enter into the ordinary currency. Signor Francesco Gnechi⁴ has compiled a long list of other Senatorial medallions, principally double sestertii, and has also⁵ given a still longer catalogue of "first, second, and third brass" coins of emperors, from Caligula to Saloninus, which, though not medallions, appear to have been struck in the Imperial mint.

⁴ *Riv. It. di Num.*, 1892, p. 291.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 483.

On the whole it would appear as if we could with comparative safety accept the following results of a reconsideration of the position of "medallions" in the Roman series of coins:—

1. That the majority of the medallions, relating as they so often do to the public life and religious rites of the emperors and their families, were struck in the Imperial mint.
2. That other medallions, especially these expressive of the good-will of the Senate and people of Rome towards the emperors, were struck in the Senatorial mint.
3. That the Imperial mint did not absolutely confine its operations to the production of gold and silver coins, but struck a certain number of bronze coins of the ordinary denominations, as well as medallions in bronze and other metals.
4. That the weight of many medallions struck in both mints was such as to connect these heavy pieces with the ordinary coinage, and to allow them to enter into the currency.

We must, however, I think, hesitate before accepting the view expressed by Sig. Francesco Gnechi,⁶ that the Roman medallion of bronze was only a multiple of the current money, and therefore, as a logical consequence, passed current precisely like the ordinary coins. At all events, if we accept it, we must make a considerable number of reservations and exceptions.

We can, for instance, hardly regard the medallions surrounded by a heavy rim, and sometimes fully three inches in diameter, as having been intended for use in the

⁶ *Monete Romane*, 1895, p. 91.

curreney; nor again those of largo size with sockets for pivots in their edges, which have evidently been mounted in some kind of frame; nor still, again, those which in ancient times havo been heavily gilt. But thero seems to me to be a still more necessary exception in the case of the medallions in two metals, with a centre consisting of soft copper and a surrounding rim of tough brass. Such an arrangement is admirably adapted for the blank taking a good impression of the dies without cracking at the edge, and the medallions thus formed must, I think, be regarded as "proofs" or "pattern pieces." If indeed they were ever put into circulation, their current value would probably not represent one-tenth of the cost of their production.

So much with regard to recent expressions of opinion as to the origin and purpose of Roman medallions, but before proceeding to the immediate subject of this paper, I should like to say a few words as to a possible use of such pieces, especially during the period when mints for the ordinary Roman coinage existed in many other towns of the Empire besides Rome as the capital. I am not sure that such a suggestion as that which I am about to make has not already been made by others, but what would appear to me to havo been almost a necessity is that in the mints there should be preserved and always be accessible authentic portraits of the emperors and such members of their families, as the moneyers had to engrave upon their dies. For such a purpose nothing could be better than a head in relief upon a larger scale than that in use for the ordinary coins, and such a head a medallion would afford.

That some such means of securing an almost complete uniformity in the portraits on coins issued from various

and distant mints may be inferred from a comparison of the coins themselves ; and in comparing them it must be borne in mind that there does not appear to have been in later Imperial times any central establishment for the engraving and issue of the dies, as was the case in England in the days of our Henries and Edwards. On the contrary, there was at each of the mints a separate school of engravers, whose style can often be recognised even in the absence of a mint-mark.

The reverse device of many of the later medallions corroborates the view that they may have been struck for mint purposes. Already under Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus, we find the three Monetae appearing, while they are of constant occurrence on the reverses of medallions of later date, with the legends AEQVITAS PVBLICA, AEQVITAS AVGVSTI or MONETA AVG. The portraits on these medallions may well have served the engravers at the country mints as models from which to copy, even if for the copper coinage it was often necessary to substitute a radiated crown for the wreath of laurel. Whether the medallion of Postumus (Cohen, No. 113, Pl. V., No. 4) and the gold coins with the jugate heads of Postumus and Hercules (Pl. V., No. 5) were issued from the same mint or not, a comparison between them justifies the opinion that the larger heads served as models for those who engraved the smaller.

Under the earlier Empire it may have been the case that the portraits on the sestertii struck at Rome served as models for the engravers in the colonial mints and the important coining centres in Western Asia and Northern Africa. In some instances the gold and silver coins struck at Rome may have served as the prototypes.

I now come to the description of a few medallions

which have been added to my collection since my last paper⁷ on this subject.

Obv. — ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P.P. TR.P. COS. IIII.
Laureate and draped bust of the Emperor, l.
Beaded circle.

Rev. — Uninscribed. Antoninus in a chariot with four horses moving slowly to the l.; his right hand is extended, and in his left is a sceptre ending in an eagle, and in an almost horizontal position.
Beaded circle.

Æ. 670 grains = 48.31 grammes. 1.48
inches. [Pl. V. 1.]

The metal is a somewhat yellow brass. The device of the reverse bears a close general resemblance to that of a specimen in the British Museum,⁸ on which Jupiter, holding a thunderbolt, occupies the quadriga, and the head of the third horse is bent down as on my example. Although this medallion is not described in Cohen's *Médailles Impériales*, it can hardly be regarded as unpublished, inasmuch as in the *Numismata Maximi Moduli e Museo Pisano olim Corrario*, printed at Venice in the last century, a medallion of the same type, but enclosed in a broad border or frame of metal, is engraved in Tab. XVI. fig. 2.

The reverse type also occurs on the sestertii or "large brass" coins, Cohen, No. 320. On these, however, COS IIII appears in the exergue, and beneath this inscription S.C., showing that these coins were issued by the Senatorial mint. A specimen was in Admiral Smyth's collection, and he remarks upon it,⁹ "Pedrusi,

⁷ *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Series, xi., 1891, p. 152.

⁸ *Cat. of Rom. Med.*, p. 11, No. 24, Pl. XV. 1.

⁹ Smyth's *Desc. Cat. of Roman Imp. Large Brass Medals*, 1884, p. 124.

Vaillant, and Havercamp think this device relates to the victories over the Brigantes, Mauretanians, and other insurgents; but as Antoninus never triumphed, the type more probably represents a consular or ceremonial procession."

The date of the medallion must be subsequent to A.D. 145.

The next medallion that I have to describe is of Faustina the Younger, and appears to be unpublished. Unfortunately the obverse has suffered from corrosion, but the reverse is in better condition. It came to me from the East.

Obv.—FAVSTINA AVGVSTA. Draped bust of the Empress l., her hair wavy and tied in a chignon behind. Beaded circle.

Rev.—Uninscribed. Isis facing, seated on a chair having a square back, with ornamental scrolls above, within an archway consisting of two smooth cylindrical columns, and a semicircular arch with short rays along its outer margin. Beaded circle.

Æ. 797 grains = 51.64 grammes. 1.56 inches. [Pl. V. 2.]

The goddess wears a long veil hanging down in front of her arm on either side; on her head is the lotus flower capped by a crescent; around her neck there seem to be two, if not three, necklaces. The lowest may, however, be merely the pleated edge of the dress. The characteristic "knot of Isis" cannot be traced. Her dress hangs down free from folds over her knees, and presents a reticulated appearance, somewhat as if it had been quilted or ornamented with a net-pattern in relief. Some low wing walls at the sides of the base of the archway are decorated in a similar manner. There is no sign of a sistrum.

The archway, or possibly cupola supported on four columns, closely resembles that on some coins of Antoninus Pius, in various sizes and metals (Cohen, No. 326, *et seqq.*), but there are no Victories on the columns, and the antefixæ on the arch are more numerous. On these coins of Antoninus the figure within the arch seems to be that of the Emperor standing on a cippus.

In early Imperial times the worship of Isis was prohibited in the city of Rome, though popular with its inhabitants, but by the time of Vespasian it was firmly established. In the Milan edition of Occo's *Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata* (folio, 1730, p. 152), a silver coin of Domitian is described as having on its reverse Isis in a tetrastyle temple *ex Museo Ruzini J. C. Bon*, but I do not find this coin described by later authors.

Isis Pharia as the inventor of the sail, with the Pharos behind, forms the type of a smaller bronze medallion of Faustina¹⁰ the Younger, cited by Fröhner, which, however, is not reproduced in Cohen. In the British Museum¹¹ are two small medallions of the same Empress, on one of which Isis Sothis is seen seated sideways on a dog; and on the other standing holding a sistrum and ears of corn, with a peacock at her feet on one side and a lion on the other.

It is a question whether the medallion (Cohen, No. 224) which is now said to represent the Genius of Carthage, seated on a lion and holding a sistrum, may not have originally borne the figure of Isis. It is much toolled. Under any circumstances we seem to have ample evidence from these medallions of the devotion of Faustina the

¹⁰ Fröhner, *Les Médailles de l'Empire Romain*, p. xiii.

¹¹ *Cat. Roman Medallions*, Pl. XXIV. 2, 3.

Younger to the worship of Isis. How far this apparent devotion was intended to cover the profligacy of her life is a question which I will not attempt to solve.

The next medallion that I have to cite is one of a well-known type, but which seems to differ from published examples in being surrounded by a turned bronze frame fully half an inch wide, making the total diameter of the piece $2\frac{9}{16}$ inches. The frame and the enclosed medal seem to form but one piece of metal, but whether the centre was struck from dies or cast with the devices upon it at the same time as the frame it is impossible to say. The state of preservation is poor in the extreme, though the reverse type is sufficiently distinct to be made out. It is No. 66 of Cohen,¹² with Rome seated, a Victory behind, and the Emperor standing in front. On the exergue is the legend COS III. On the obverse are the bust and titles of Lucius Verus. I cite this medallion mainly for the purpose of exhibiting a specimen that can hardly be regarded as ever having been intended for circulation as money. Though corroded, it still weighs 1,258 grains = 81.52 grammes.

The next medallion that I shall mention has already been published from a specimen in the British Museum,¹³ which, however, is not sufficiently well preserved to have been included in the plates attached to the Catalogue of the Roman Medallions in the Museum. It is also described by Cohen.¹⁴

It is of Commodus, of the year A.D. 180.

¹² Fröhner, p. 94; Vaillant, p. 89, *Trésor de Glyptique*, pt. 86, 12.

¹³ *Cat. of Rom. Med.*, p. 22, No. 5.

¹⁴ *Commode*, No. 288.

Obv.—L. AVREL. COMMODVS AVG. GERM. SARM.
TR. P. V. Laureate bust of the Emperor r.,
wearing paludamentum and cuirass. Beaded
circle.

Rev.—IMP. III. COS. II. P.P. Victory wearing double
tunic and peplum towards l. looking back. She
leans her l. arm on a column, and rests her left
foot on its base, and holds a wreath and palm.
Beaded circle.

Æ. 1·64 inches. 928 grains = 60·184
grammes. [Pl. V. 8.]

The device of the reverse is extremely artistic, and probably relates to the war on the Upper Danube, during which a succession of victories had been obtained by Marcus Aurelius, who, however, died under the fatigues of war, in Pannonia, in A.D. 180, the year when this medallion was struck. On the death of his father, Commodus concluded a hasty peace with his barbarous German foes, and hurried back to Rome, where he was enthusiastically received. There is little doubt that this medallion was struck in the Imperial mint, and that its device was intended to impress upon the minds of the people not only the importance of the victories in which Commodus claimed to have taken part, but the durability of the beneficial results that would ensue from them. On coins we often find Pax and Securitas resting their arm on a column, and it is in this typical sense that the word is used by Horace in his prayer to Fortune.¹⁵

“Injurioso ne pede prorvas
Stantem columnam.”

The last specimen that I have to adduce is of smaller size, but still ranks as a medallion. It is of Constantius Gallus.

¹⁵ Carm. i., *Ode XXXV. 18.*

Obr.—D.N. FL. CL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. CAES.
Bare-headed bust of Gallus r. wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—VIRTVS AVG. The Cæsar in military dress standing to the r. holding a spear and globe; at his feet two captives, one seated in an attitude of grief, and the other with his hands tied behind his back, both of them looking up at Gallus.

Æ. 1.35 inches. 826 grains = 21.12 grammes. [Pl. V. 6.]

A medallion of Gallus with the same legend has been published by Cohen,¹⁶ but the figure on the reverse is turned to the left, and holds a sceptre and a globe surmounted by a Victory. The captives are transposed, the one with his hands tied behind his back being to the right of the Cæsar and not to his left.

A similar reverse to that on my coin appears on a bronze medallion of Julian II. of rather smaller module. It seems very probable that all the medallions of this late date were intended eventually to enter into circulation, though the ratio that they may have borne to the smaller copper pieces, and to those in silver and gold, it may be almost impossible to determine. In the case of many of the medallions¹⁷ of earlier date there appear to me fair reasons for regarding them as being more of the nature of medals than of coins, though, with the exception of those in two metals and some other classes that I have mentioned, some of them, like the medallions of Trajanus Decius, may have had a current value. Others, again, as I have ventured to suggest, may have been struck for the purpose of disseminating through the mints of the empire authentic likenesses of the occupants of the throne.

JOHN EVANS.

¹⁶ No. 48.¹⁷ Cohen, No: 70; Fröhner, p. 821.



ROMAN MEDALLIONS.



IV.

THE PROCESS OF COINING AS SEEN IN A WALL-PAINTING AT POMPEII.

(See Plate VI.)

In the course of the past year the explorers of Pompeii have brought to a successful conclusion their labours on the *Casa dei Vetti*, a mansion that may vie with the foremost among the luxurious dwellings of that fossil municipality. While its peristyle is crowded with marble fountains and statuoties, its walls are covered with far greater treasures, frescoes that reflect the glories of that Hellenic painting of which, without such aid, we could hardly form the vaguest estimate. The reflection may indeed be dim, and blurred by the copyist's lack of skill, and by the destructive agencies of weather and of time; but, imperfect as it may be, it is all that we are likely to obtain to eke out the scanty notices of Pliny and Pausanias as to the pictorial art of their own and of earlier days.

It is not, however, my intention here to discuss these more ambitious efforts of the Campanian artists; of them I shall treat on another occasion and in another place. For the purposes of this Society the inquiry may be limited to the less pretentious specimens of decorative art forming the frieze in one of those gaily painted chambers that now again see the sun after eighteen centuries of darkness.

Those who have read Helbig's *Untersuchungen: über die*

campanische Wandmalerei may remember that he divides Campanian wall-paintings into two great classes, *Realistic* and *Ideal*.

Under the former head are classed certain pictures showing the processes of various trades, as that of the fuller or the baker—banausic enough, perhaps, yet of the highest importance, not only for classical scholars, but for the wider research of those who study the history of civilisation in general.

These prosaic specimens of realism contrast forcibly with the airy grace of a series of decorative friezes which repeat, from the ideal point of view, the panorama of industrial pursuits.

The ordinary mortals—often very ordinary—of the Forum are replaced by dainty Loves, who hover over the amphora or the oil-press with a zeal that would well become the most praiseworthy artisan.

These plump and rosy infants have no doubt degenerated from the slender pensive youths depicted by the verse of Anacreon and the chisel of Praxiteles. Their long noses and chubby cheeks are innovations on the canon of regular features established in an epoch of purer taste; and they belong rather to the false Anacreon than to the true. Yet they have their attractions, and the student of ancient art is tempted to trace back these graceful flutterers to the Erotes of Aetion,¹ but we must not yield to such a temptation; we must confine our attention to one of these scenes, and in that direct it to the technical process rather than to the fairy craftsmen.

Putting aside, then, the fullers, the wreath-makers, the

¹ Lucian (or his imitator) in his *Herodotus*, sect. 5, says Aetion's picture of the Wedding of Roxana and Alexander was in Italy in his time.

workers at the wine-press and the oil-mill, let us fix our attention on a picture representing the process of coinage, discovered within the last few months in the *triclinium* of the newly excavated Pompeian house. (See Pl. VI.)

On the extreme right we may see a Cupid with up-raised wings, and anxious, not to say ludicrous expression of countenance, energetically working at something to reach which he has to stand on a raised platform.

At first sight he would seem to be working bellows, but more probably he is stoking, the circular object being the furnace door opened for that purpose. On the top of the furnace is a bearded head of Vulcan wearing his conical cap.

Facing the Cupid, on the other side of the blazing furnace, is his colleague, wearing the professional apron, presumably of leather. With his right hand he grasps the smith's tongs, holding a lump of metal in the fire, and beating it by means of the blow-pipe held in his left. His cheeks are swollen with vigorous puffing.

Back to back with him, and seated comfortably on a cushioned stool, with his feet on a footstool, a third winged artisan is intent on fashioning the ingot on a small anvil with a hammer of moderate size.

In front of him stands a solid table, or rather plinth, with certain trays or shelves upon it, the use of which it is not easy to determine. Perhaps they contain ingots, or, more probably, weights, for above them rise two balances, a larger and a smaller. It is to secure the accuracy of these balances that the solid support is required. A third balance is poised by the right hand of the next Cupid, who, standing erect, touches with his left one of the scales to steady it. His expression of accurate examination is excellent.

Superintending his operations, with a gesture of authority, sits a somewhat solemn dignitary, whose full face and portly, serious look imply a seniority in age as well as rank. Both are suggested by the extra size of his wings; while rank is clearly intimated by the ample, well-cushioned seat on which he sits, with his large and decorated footstool. In the arrangement of his drapery he reminds us of a seated Jove; and we feel that we are face to face with an official personage who is not to be trifled with. No doubt he is the *monetalis*, or officer responsible for the coinage.

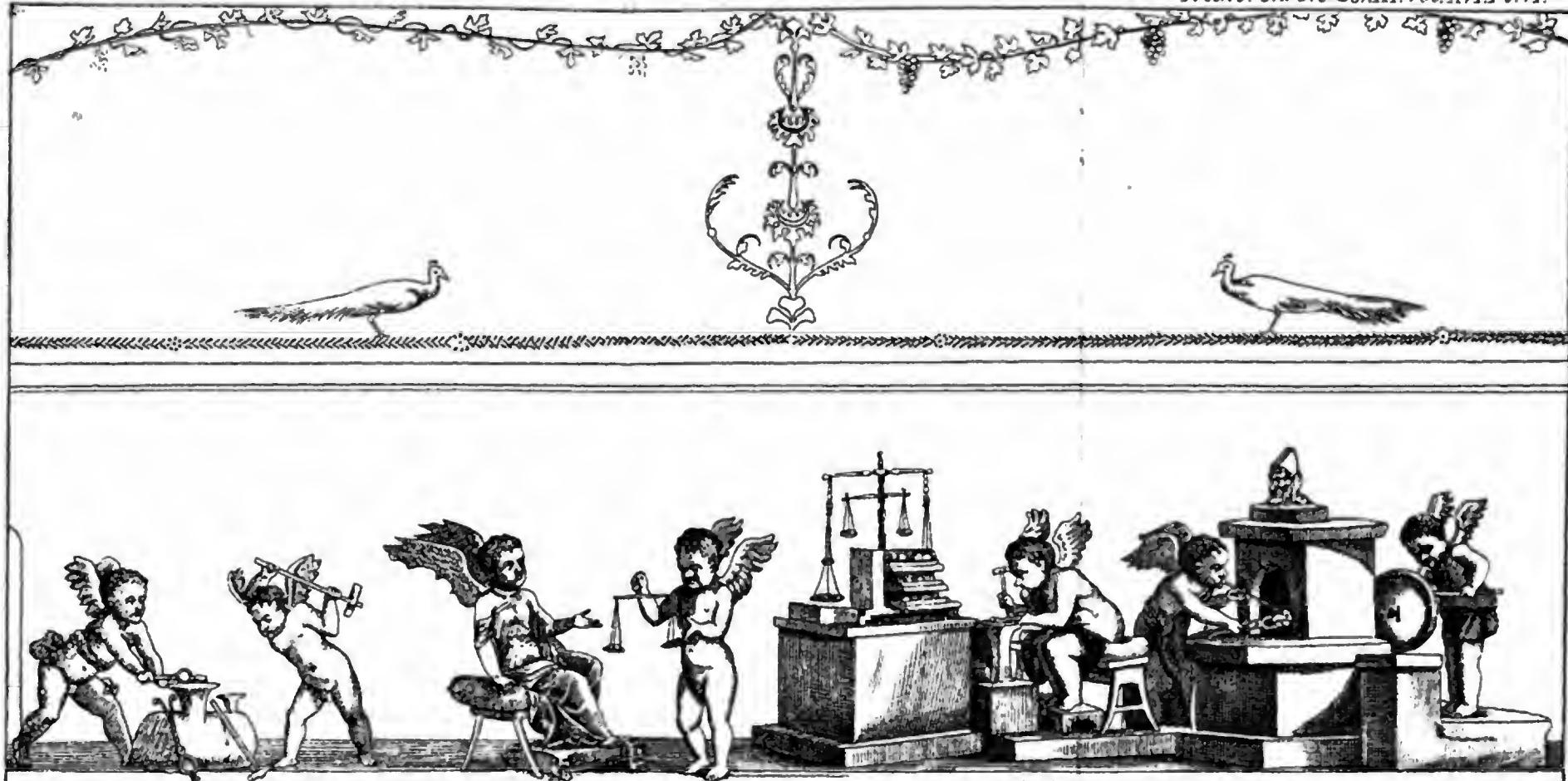
Withdrawing from the presence of the *monetalis*, we come across a figure engaged in vigorous action. With right foot planted in advance, he is preparing to deliver an effective blow with the ponderous sledge-hammer swung with both hands.

The blow is directed to an object—presumably the upper die—lying on a large anvil and held in place by the last figure in our series. Against the anvil rest another hammer and a huge pair of tongs. The size of these hammers is probably not exaggerated; the number of cracked and damaged specimens in collections of coins, and the frequent change of die, suggest that heavy hammers were usually and necessarily employed.

It appears that there is no representation of casting the blank.

If we view the composition as a whole, it seems that the various steps of the process are placed quite in their proper order. This grouping is characteristic of Roman art, which was more matter of fact than the Greek and represented things as they really occurred.

The two peacocks above the scene are the well-known symbols of Juno, and indicate that the minting operations



WALL-PAINTING FROM THE HOUSE OF THE VETTII AT POMPEII.

represented are those of the Roman mint, first set up in the temple of Juno Moneta.

In any case we are gainers by the unearthing of this picture, which, with its varied action and expressive features, is of great interest to the artist and the archæologist. Its value to the numismatist, however, is far higher, for no such complete representation of the processes of ecoinage has, I believe, hitherto come down to us from antiquity.

Most of the labours and pastimes of the Greeks and Romans are well represented on their various monuments.

The realistic paintings of the amphitheatre of Pompeii, and the stucco-reliefs on the tombs, bring vividly before us the sports and struggles of the arena.

Preparations for war and actual warfare are chronicled on monuments of every kind and date, from the Myceenæan potsherd to the balustrade of Athena's temple at Per-gamos and the arches and columns of Imperial Rome.

Greek vases introduce us to the sculptor's studio, the school, and the exercises of the palaestra.²

The wholesale baker Eury-saces has left in the carvings on his tomb a panorama of his craft, from the reception of the corn to the sending out of the loaves; and this is supplemented by the paintings of his retail brethren at Pompeii.

With the art of coining it has been far otherwise.

The number of Greek and Roman coins that have come down to us far exceed all other classes of monuments put together, and have the advantage over many

² See two red-figured kylikes in the Berlin *Antiquarium*; for the studio, No. 2,294; for the school, No. 2,285 (by Duris). For athletes training see the third Vase Room in the British Museum, *passim*.

of bringing us face to face with the original artist and the original composition. Yet, with regard to the process by which these coins were brought into existence, our monumental evidence has been of the most meagre description. The tongs and anvil and hammer are to be found on a denarius of the Carisia gens,³ but for any satisfactory view of the method of coining we have had to wait for this Pompeian wall-painting.

TALFOURD ELY.

³ See Prof. Gardner's *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 18.

V.

THE COINS OF STEPHEN.

THE reign of King Stephen is known as a period of anarchy, and the confusion and disorder characteristic of the time certainly extend to the coinage.

While I am quite unable to suggest a logically and consistently arranged explanation of all the difficulties which it offers, or a harmonious and orderly classification of the coins, it may yet be worth while to set down certain points which, it appears to me, may be established, and which may be taken up as starting points to work from, and eventually properly harmonized, whenever the subject is thoroughly investigated with fuller knowledge and by more competent hands: preliminary borings, so to speak, made almost at random into the mass with the object of helping forward the ordered gallery hereafter to be constructed through it.

Before going farther it may be as well to give a short sketch of the political conditions of the reign, and the geographical disposition of the parties. Throughout the period, Stephen's power was strongest in the eastern side and centre of England, in the cities of London, Canterbury, Lincoln, and York. Except for perhaps a few weeks in 1141, when he was prisoner, the King had an exchequer and judicial system more or less thoroughly at work all the time in the districts subject to him, and for long periods in others also, according as the barons who

ruled them were faithful in their allegiance,¹ or from policy attached to his party. On the other hand, Matilda's authority centred at Bristol, and thence extended, with varying limits, over the district around—the south and west of England, sometimes reaching as far as Oxford and Winchester, and even London.

At the commencement of the struggle the interference of King David of Scotland on behalf of his niece brought about the only event which can be said to be of any national interest in it, viz., the mustering of the barons and commons of Yorkshire under Archbishop Thurstan, in a common spirit of enthusiasm, to repel the terrible invasion of the Scots,² at the famous Battle of the Standard, in August, 1138. The result of this decisive battle was the cessation of hostilities in the North, and the settlement at the convention of Durham in 1139 between Stephen's Queen Matilda and Henry, the Scots King's son, on behalf of Stephen and David, by which, in addition to Carlisle, all the country beyond the Tyne, with the exception of one or two places, was ceded to Scotland. Thereafter, however, in the South the civil war broke out uncontrollably. In 1141, Stephen was taken at Lincoln, and the Empress reached London; but she had soon to retire before the Queen, and the strife became more anarchical than before. In 1146, the Earl of Chester was captured by the King, and the next year Earl Robert of Gloucester died, and the Empress left England. The second crusade also took off several of the more turbulent combatants, and the struggle began to subside. Henry of

¹ See Mr. Howlett's *Introd. to Gesta Stephani.* Rolls Ser. p. xlvi.

² The chief barons of what may be called Upper Yorkshire—Bruce, Baliol, and Eustace FitzJohn—supported the Scots, and the last actually fought on their side in the battle.

Anjou was knighted by the King of Scots at Carlisle in 1149, and four years later his invasion of England was followed by the treaty of Wallingford, under the influence of the Archbishop and Bishop Henry of Winchester, and which the death of Stephen's eldest son Eustace made the latter more willing to agree to.

Thus the worst of the struggle was in the central period of the reign, and the disorder and misery were most acute on the border between the territory of the King's party and that of the Empress, and in districts subject to special centres of anarchy, such as Geoffrey de Mandeville in 1143 and William de Mohun. They were probably less felt in Yorkshire, where, it must be remembered, the Cistercians were quietly working all the time; and also in the Midland counties, where the Earls of Derby, Leicester, and Northampton, and the Counts of Menlan (the three latter all members of one family) had almost supreme power.

Now when we turn to the coins there are, of course, two principal types, the front face (Hawkins, 268-9), and the side face (270). Nos. 263-9 are so evidently directly connected with the full-face types of Henry I. (267) and Henry II. (285) that it must be admitted to be a link between them, and, as a consequence, to have continued throughout the reign. The further consequence follows that the side-face type (270) did not precede or succeed it, but was contemporary with it. It is true that the moneymen's names on the full-face type (268-9) are fewer than, and generally different from, those on the side-face one (270); but I think that no argument as to priority in time can be drawn from this fact at this early period. It was different when the working and administration of the mint had been thoroughly organized under Henry II., of which Sir J. Evans has been able to make

use in settling the short-cross question. In support of this opinion I may say that Mr. Rashleigh (*N. C.* xiii.) was satisfied, from an examination of moneyers' names, that the three-quarter face type (255) was the earliest of Henry I.'s coins; while Mr. Wakeford (*N. C.* 3rd ser., iii., p. 112), from the equally good evidence of finds, holds it as conclusive that this type (255) was the last. I feel somewhat more confidence after this in my own theory, which on other grounds has placed it in the middle. The truth is that there is another point which at this date may materially affect the conclusion to be drawn from either evidence: the matter, namely, of locality—the place where a coin was struck, or where it has been found. During the almost total absence of trade and communication, and especially in the disturbed state of the times as described to us, coins must have passed comparatively seldom from hand to hand, and specimens of types of which there had been a large issue (which could not easily be withdrawn) may thus be found occurring as survivals among coins of a later reign, when those of subsequent, but less extensive, issues are wanting. The smaller issue again would not have so wide a circulation, and specimens in consequence would be found more or less near their place of mintage. As regards the difference in the moneyers' names, all that I can say is that it is not directly connected with the difference in the types, which was the work of the die engravers; and there seems to me to be little difficulty in supposing that, in a place like London, some moneyers, from association perhaps, or for some other reason, rather preferred one type for their issues, and others, another.

The front-face type (268—9) is evidently the best work, and may, I think, be taken as that of the standard coin of the reign as made by the best artists. The side-face

type (270) was engraved apparently by equally authorised persons in London at all events; but it was copied more or less successfully, and issued in various localities, sometimes on Stephen's behalf and sometimes by the independent barons on one side or the other. This does not seem to have been the case with (269), except to the small extent shown here and there by unpublished types occasionally found in collections. The fact, mentioned by Mr. Wakeford, that the many light specimens in the Linton find were all of the (270) type, is in support of this view. Amid the confusion of the period, hybrids of evidently local origin occur, reminiscences of Henry I. such as (275, 276), and even of Edward the Confessor (277); and also the rudest possible imitations of the original, such as those issued by the Empress. The Latin form of the moneyer's title on these last is worth notice, as it betrays the foreign influence which was likely enough to be found in Matilda's train. There is a peculiar type issued apparently by barons of Matilda's party, and located in the district subject to her, namely (284), the so-called William FitzStephen coins.

That coin reading WILLELMV^o, I propose to take with Mr. Montagu's specimen reading LVILL. UH·DV·O, and also with the two given by Mr. Page in *N. C.* 3rd ser., vol. ix., p. 345, the second of which reads, B·R·C·IT·I, followed, it is said, by a blurred S and other letters, and having TO for the mint town on the reverse, which Mr. Page gives rightly, I think, to Dunster. The first two were found together near Salisbury, and may, I think, be given, with the third, to William de Mohun, Earl of Somerset and Lord of Dunster, while the letters on the fourth (bearing in mind another coin found in the Hertfordshire hoard, of type (270), and reading ... RCF+L [see Hawkins, *note* p. 187]) stand almost convincingly, to

me, for BRIANVS COMITIS FILIVS—Brian FitzCount—another well-known member of the Empress's party in the West.³

The coins of Bishop Henry of Winchester and those reading PERERIC are better imitations of (270), and the work of better engravers. Whom the PERERIC coins belong to I am not able to say, but I think that they can hardly be given to Earl Roger of Warwick. For an earl or baron to style himself simply by his territorial title is utterly incongruous to that age; indeed, it is, comparatively, a modern idea. The testimony of the charters is conclusive on this point. He would style himself *Comes Rogerus* or *Rogerus Comes*; and if there were any other Counts Roger it would then be *Comes Rogerus de Notoburgo*, or *Comes Rogerus de Warwick*, whichever title happened to be best known. Neither family name nor that of his earldom could occur without the style *Comes*, even when the Christian name was left out. Who then was the person signified on the coins, fairly worked specimens of Stephen's (632), and issued in the great centres of his authority—London, Canterbury, and Lincoln? There is, moreover, no doubt whatever that we have the whole of the legend on the obverse; it is plainly enough +PERE-(or I) RIC:. It is as likely as not that he was a member of the King's party, for I cannot quite accept Mr. Lawrence's argument, that the striking of coins was a sign of independence or antagonism to Stephen. The period is notably the one when the Continental feudal system, with its incidents, had its day in England; and the practice of striking money by feudatories on the Continent by no means involved disaffection or disloyalty to their feudal superiors.

³ See Round's *Geffrey de Mandeville*.

The C at the end may stand for *Comes*, leaving PERERI for the name. In the absence of authority to the contrary, I think that the blundered letters may be better appropriated to Robert de Ferrers, made Earl of Derby by the King in 1138, than to Earl Roger of Warwick, especially as the former was a much more prominent character.

The mention of Derby leads one to another doubt with regard to the extraordinary coin (277), and to contend that it cannot be attributed to Derby on the strength of the reverse usually reading WICHELINVS DERBI. +. This would involve the legend (since it is in Latin) being an abbreviation for *Wichelinus Derbiensis*, which is almost impossible in the practice of moneyers. The last letter but one is by no means certainly a B in the Museum specimen. Anyhow, I think that the legend must be read in the natural way, WICHELINVS DE RBI, taking the last three letters as the name of the mint town more or less abbreviated.

I have left to the last a class (or classes) of coins, which are perhaps the most interesting, though by no means the least puzzling. They are characterized by exceedingly good work and by their utter difference in type to everything else except in one instance, that of the "flag" coins (271), which I join with them for reasons which will appear. Their types may be referred to as the "flag," the "lion," the "armed figure," the "two figures," and the "rider." The style of the work of all these is the same, though I am aware that there are ruder specimens of some; and from the evidence of two at least of the group they may be given to Yorkshire. They are also all marked by two types of reverses, either one with utterly meaningless ornaments in the place of a legend; or else one with letters, forming an abbreviated legend,

separated by ornaments, these ornaments being of a different style to those first mentioned, and there being always four special ones separating the legend at the main angles of the cross. The "armed figure" is an exception in having in three instances the legend almost at length without separating ornaments.

Mr. Lawrence has (*N. C.* 3rd ser., x., 42) happily settled the "lion" coins by giving them, from a peculiar specimen in his possession, to Eustace FitzJohn, Lord of Knaresborough and Malton. I should like to add that his coin differs from the other "lion" coins in having the obverse legend (which is most remarkably retrograde, and in the genitive case—*Eustacii Fii Joanis*) in capital, as I think, rather than in uncial letters; and a reverse of the second of the above-mentioned types. It is hopeless, in its present form, \ddagger ITΩΓID*BE with apparently four letters missing; but it may possibly be retrograde like the obverse, giving the Latin genitive termination, TI. The ordinary "lion" coins read EISTAO \ddagger IVS, in partly uncial letters with a reverse of the first type, but their attribution cannot be different to that of Mr. Lawrence's coin.

It is otherwise as regards the other Eustace coins, those with the "armed figure." There the obverse differs from the "lion" coins in both spelling and style, EVST \ddagger ACIVS. The reverse also is totally different, and the legend in three cases out of four is comparatively plain, and can be given to the city of York, EBORACI being read on two of them, while \ddagger OMAS FILIVS VLF on the third can only mean Thomas FitzUlviet, who, in 1131, was alderman of the merchant guild, and also hereditary lagaman of the city. Eustace FitzJohn had nothing to do with York city. Indeed, he had, as has been said, fought on the other side when the citizens had headed the forces of the

county and diocese at the Battle of the Standard; and from their issue from this place, and their connection with the "flag" coins, I think that they may certainly be given, as they generally have been, to the King's son, Eustace, who was for a period governor of the city.⁴ The three coins above-mentioned are identical on the obverse, but the fourth, which is that figured in Hawkins (283), is slightly ruder in style. Now the point for attention is that the legend on the reverse of this last is (whatever may be its meaning) almost identical with, and evidently of the same nature as, those on the "flag" coins.

I give them below, accenting always the figures at the main angles, and commencing with the \ddagger .

1. $\ddagger \mathbb{E} \mathbb{L} \mathbb{O} \cdot \mathbb{W} \mathbb{C} \mathbb{E} \mathbb{I} \mathbb{C} : \mathbb{A} \mathbb{C} \mathbb{W} \cdot \mathbb{V} \cdot \mathbb{W}$
2. $\ddagger \mathbb{W} \cdot \mathbb{V} \cdot \mathbb{V} \mathbb{E} \mathbb{L} \mathbb{C} \mathbb{E} \mathbb{I} \mathbb{C} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{C} \mathbb{W} \mathbb{O} \mathbb{E} \mathbb{I} \mathbb{C} \mathbb{E} \mathbb{O}$
3. $\ddagger \mathbb{A} \mathbb{C} \mathbb{W} \mathbb{I} \mathbb{C} \mathbb{E} \mathbb{I} \mathbb{C} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{C} \mathbb{W} \mathbb{O} \mathbb{E} \mathbb{I} \mathbb{S} \mathbb{R} \mathbb{C}$
4. $\ddagger \mathbb{E} \mathbb{D} \mathbb{N} \mathbb{V} \cdot \mathbb{W} \mathbb{M} \mathbb{C} \mathbb{T} \mathbb{C} \mathbb{E} \mathbb{I} \mathbb{C} \mathbb{E} \mathbb{O} \mathbb{V}$
5. $\ddagger \mathbb{V} \mathbb{I} \mathbb{C} \mathbb{D} \mathbb{N} : \mathbb{C} \mathbb{I} \mathbb{T} \mathbb{S} \mathbb{C} \mathbb{E} \mathbb{C} \mathbb{R} \mathbb{C}$
6. $\ddagger : \mathbb{C} \mathbb{P} \mathbb{T} \mathbb{I} \mathbb{O} \mathbb{E} \mathbb{R} \mathbb{S} \cdot \mathbb{V} \mathbb{I} \mathbb{N} \mathbb{C} \mathbb{L}$
7. $\ddagger \mathbb{C} \mathbb{P} \mathbb{T} \mathbb{I} \mathbb{O} \mathbb{E} \mathbb{R} \mathbb{S} \mathbb{C} \mathbb{I} \mathbb{N} \cdot \mathbb{V} \cdot \mathbb{W} \mathbb{C}$

1. Eustace, Hawkins (283).
2. Stephen, "Flag-coin" reading MVLCMBE, according to Hawkins.
3. Stephen, "Flag-coin," Montagu Collection.
4. Stephen, "Flag-coin," Montagu Collection.
5. Stephen, "Flag-coin," in N.C., vol. xiii., Pl. No. 18.
6. Stephen, "Flag-coin," British Museum.
7. Stephen, "Flag-coin," Montagu Collection.

⁴ See Stubb's *Const. Hist.*, i. 469.

It will be conceded, I think, that these legends are not a random association of letters, but that they must have some meaning; that the first five and the last two are practically identical; and that having regard to the other Eustace coins they are probably abbreviations of Latin. Leaving, however, any question about them for the moment, the association through them of the Eustace (283) with the "flag" coins is strongly in favour of these latter having been issued from the same locality, and corroborates the presumption that the flag in the King's hand, which alone distinguishes them from the ordinary type of (270), represents the famous "standard." It is, indeed, so very similar to other contemporary representations of it, that I think that this can hardly be doubted.⁵ It is sufficient to notice here the importance of the battle, and the enthusiasm which the victory excited; the fact that the forces were especially those of the diocese, of which York and its Archbishop were the centre and head; and that the victory of the "standard" was therefore especially likely to be commemorated in an unusual way in the cathedral city. Stephen, moreover, was often at York in the earlier part of his reign, and he was there the year after the battle, at the conclusion of peace by his Queen and the Scots Prince Henry at Durham. He was also closely connected with the Chapter, as two of his nephews were important members of it—William Fitz

⁵ I think that (272) and (278) refer to the battle in the same way, only instead of the standard it is the Monstrance, in which the Host was, and which surmounted the standard, which is represented on them. If (272) were, as Hawkins calls it, a horseman's mace, it would require such a mace to be so terrific a weapon that Odo of Bayeux could never have used one, as he is represented to have done, to destroy his enemies without shedding blood.

Herbert (afterwards St. William of York), the treasurer, and Hugh de Puteaco, or Puiset, who, in 1147, succeeded St. William in the treasurership. The conclusion, therefore, which I put forward is, that these "flag" coins were struck at York, on Stephen's behalf, probably under the direction of the Chapter, in the period immediately following the Battle of the Standard, and previous to the issue of the "armed figure" coins by his son Eustace, when made governor of the city.

The style of the "two figures" and the "rider" coins cannot put them very far away, either in place or time. Both have reverses of the first of the two types mentioned above. As regards the "two figures," most people, I imagine, will agree with Hawkins in taking the right-hand figure to represent a lady; but I am not quite sure about the long hair. I have not examined enough specimens to be able to speak with fair certainty on a point which, if established, would be almost conclusive evidence as to the occasion on which the coin was struck, and which I believe to have been the convention of Durham, between Stephen's Queen Matilda and Prince Henry of Scotland, in 1139. I have sometimes thought that a mark on the right of the trefoiled head of the central column, which is not balanced by another on the other side, and the three distinctly marked streamers,⁶ in which whatever is over the Queen's head ends, were meant for an indication of the pole and streamers of the standard. But whether this be so or not, the convention of Durham seems to me to have been the most

⁶ The standard is always represented as having three streamers. See *Ailred de Bello Standardi, Tegysden Script. Decem*, p. 339; *MS. Arundel*, 150; also the "Flag" coins.

probable occasion for striking a coin of a similar peculiarity and originality to other types in the vicinity.

The "rider," viz., the coin attributed to Robert of Gloucester (Hawkins, 280), which is, perhaps, the rarest of all, has the same reverse as Stephen (278). Specimens of both, according to Hawkins, were found with the "armed figure" and "two figures" together near Wetherby, in Yorkshire. Locality, therefore, as well as style, brings all together, and one is, I think, far safer in attributing the coin to one of the great Yorkshire barons, Robert de Brus, or Robert de Stuteville, than to Robert of Gloucester, a man whose possessions and influence lay in the West, and whose coins were probably of the type of the Empress, or of the other barons in that part of England, and would certainly not have easily found their way to Yorkshire.

To go back, in conclusion, to the mysterious legends, to which one may as well add (though with little useful results) those on the two other Eustace coins, so plain and so puzzling, $\text{+EBORACI o EDOT\zeta}$ and +EBORACI o TDEFF . Most of the letters are clear enough, but one or two are difficult. The peculiar letter \wedge in the first four must, I consider, be meant for a W. It is true that the usual form is two interlaced Vs, \wedge\wedge (besides, of course, the P), but in the first place, it must be a letter, and no other letter will meet the case in the position that we find it. It is not an E, for E's occur with it; and, secondly, there are several peculiarities in the letters of these coins, and the English U (or half the W) occurs instead of the Roman V in the Thomas FitzUlviet coin. Next there is a letter L with apparently an apostrophe, L'. This occurs in Nos. 1, 2, and 6. The only light thrown on this is the fact that its place in 6 is taken in

7 by a V, the two legends being otherwise identical. Lastly, there is the extraordinary letter Γ , which comes in the reverse of Mr. Lawrence's "lion" coin, and also in legend above, and also, it is just possible, as the fifth⁷ letter on the "flag" coins, 6 and 7. Is this merely an L reversed, or is it a survival or corruption of a Runic letter L or U?

These questions, as well as the final elucidation of the meaning of the letters, must be left for further investigation to decide. As I have said, I cannot agree with Mr. Lawrence in thinking that they were originally intended to have none. Meanwhile I would call attention to the similarity of the legends, especially the first four and the last two, and the peculiar star (or star within a circle) which is quite distinct from the ordinary marks at the quadrants, and which occurs in connection with the W in the first four. Any attempt at explaining them is, of course, at present, mere guessing ; but, as I have said above, William, the King's nephew, was treasurer of the Church of York, and must have been, at least, as important a personage as FitzUlvict, the Alderman, and one would like, if one could, to associate so amiable a character as DOMINVS WILLELMVS THESAVRARIVS EBOR with the coins which in all probability were issued in the city during his tenure of office.

A. E. PACKER.

⁷ This fifth letter is so obscure on both specimens that it may be a Γ , a T, or even a C, with almost equal probability.

VI.

ON A FIND OF COINS CHIEFLY OF THE TIME OF EDWARD IV.

SOME time ago I obtained from Messrs. Spink a hoard of coins consisting, for the most part, of groats and pence of Edward IV.

The discovery of these coins can be dismissed in very few words, as all the information I could obtain about them was, that they were found at Guisborough, in Yorkshire, about 1848. The monarchs represented comprised those from Edward III to Edward IV, except perhaps Henry IV, and the denominations of the coins were groats to halfpence. I have given as accurate a list as possible of all the pieces. The chief interest in the hoard centres round the pence of Edward IV, of Durham and York, many of which are very fine, and the varieties of which are most unusually numerous. Some of the other coins, however, are interesting, and worthy of a passing note. There is one groat of Henry V, preceding the mullet-marked groat, and said to be intermediate between Henry IV. and Henry V. There is also a new variety of the Calais coinage; it presents the rosette in connection with the pine-cone and mascle.

Among the Edward IV groats is an example of the rare mule of Coventry and London. It differs from

the published one, Hawkins, No. 3, in having the reverse m.m. sun. There were no heavy groats of Edward IV. The m.m.s. on the light ones were rose, sun, crown, cross fitchée, and cross pierced. On the whole these m.m.s. bear out my previous conclusions regarding their sequence (see *N.C.*, 3rd Ser., xi., p. 180). I do not, however, understand the absence of the common annulet m.m., but the position of this m.m. was then a point on which I felt doubtful, and so far nothing in this hoard tends to clear up that doubt.

The half-groats of Henry VI and Edward IV present nothing new; the former were struck at Calais, the latter at Canterbury. The single halfpenny in the find is also quite uninteresting; it is only a fragment of the light coinage of Edward IV minted in London.

The pennies constituted the great bulk of the hoard, there were some 210 of them, and they were struck by Edward III, Richard II, the three Henries, IV, V, and VI, and lastly, Edward IV.

The places of mintage were chiefly York and Durham. Only a single specimen of London occurred; it is a poor specimen of Edward III's reign. Also among Edward IV's pence were some of Drogheda and other Irish mints, together with many quite illegible coins, which to my mind are Irish in their fabric.

One penny of Edward III gives the *Di Gra.* legend. This is new for the pence. The coin evidently belongs to the latest group of the king's reign, and adds another specimen to that coinage which I described in vol. xiii., 3rd Series, of the *Chronicle*. It agrees with the other coins of the series in presenting saltire stops.

One penny may be doubtfully attributed to the fourth
VOL. XVI. THIRD SERIES. L

Henry; but I should not like to be positive on this point.

There were some early York annulet coins of Henry VI's time, and some of his latest coins of this place and of Durham. These later pieces have a saltire between *HEN* and *RIC*, and there is evidently some object in this little mark in the middle of the king's name, as it occurs on the coins of York and Durham, and also on those of London (*vide* Hawkins, No. 333), where the same mark is called a trefoil, though engraved a saltire. Three other coins bearing the name of Henry occurred in the hoard, and in conjunction with this name the initial *G*, and the symbol a key at the sides of the neck. These are examples of the extremely rare light pennies of Henry VI, struck during his short restoration in 1470, at York, by the Archbishop, George Nevil. All the other pennies of English mintage were struck either at York by the same Archbishop, or at Durham, by Laurence Booth, bishop from 1457 to 1476.

It is the presence of these coins that gives the chief interest to the hoard. As coins of the earlier kings were found, I naturally looked for early pieces of Edward IV. There were no heavy groats, and I do not know the reason of their absence. The pennies, however, yielded better results. Following out the test I had laid down in 1891, I carefully examined the legends, and among those pennies struck both at Durham and York, I found some omitting *DL. GRA.* Perhaps it may be remembered that I stated at that time, that the omission of these words in the legend should prove the test of the veritable small heavy coins of Edward IV. On weighing these pieces against the others, I found, not indeed pence weighing 15 grains apiece, but coins averaging heavier than the

coins bearing the DI. GRA. legend. Some few actually weighed more than 12 grains, the full weight ordained in the indenture for light coins. Concerning the Durham pieces I shall not have more to say. I may, however, remark that I have one Durham penny resembling those in this hoard, which weighs 14·5 grains, and omits DI. GRA.

The York coins, which by legend and weight were heavy coins, also bear the initial of Archbishop Nevil, 6 and the York key, and this at first seemed to me to be the one disappointing fact about them. Archbishop William Booth died in 1464, September 21. Nevil was his immediate successor. Now 1464, Edward's fourth year, has always been given as the date of the alteration of his coins from heavy to light. I should like to say a few words about this indenture and that of 1465. The earlier one established the weight of the noble at 50 to the pound, and the value at eight shillings and fourpence. The silver coins were also to be reduced in weight. One authority dates this indenture at Stamford, August 13, and another at Reading, September 29 (see note to Ruding, vol. i., p. 283). The next year, 1465, another indenture was made, by which the weight of the noble was again altered and the value raised; 45 were to go to the pound, and they were to be worth ten shillings. Ruding says they were called "Rose nobles." Coins impressed with an angel were also mentioned. The silver coins, however, were to be as before.

Now the first point I wish to draw attention to is, that all the gold nobles of Edward IV., except the two in Sir John Evans's collection, are rose nobles, and that their weight is that settled by the indenture of 1465, viz., 120 grains. The two exceptions bear a pellet on each side of the crown, and the lis m.m.s. correspond in every particular with the

heavy groats of Edward IV, so that these two cannot have been struck by virtue of the indenture of 1464, but by virtue of an earlier one; probably an authorisation as yet unknown of Edward's first year. We have then no gold coins which we can attribute to the year 1464. The second point of interest is, that the gold nobles and groats bear the same mintmarks as the silver coins. We have on them the rose, or rather that particular object which is said to be and probably is intended for a rose; then the sun, crown, and cross fitchée. These marks all occur on the silver coins, and on all denominations of them. It will be admitted by all that groats, half-groats, pence, and halfpence bearing an identical m.m., are the output of one coinage. I see no difficulty, therefore, in concluding that the gold coins bearing these mintmarks are of the same date as the corresponding silver coins. This will place all the light silver coins to the 1465 indenture, when, as I have just shown, the gold coins were struck. We must, therefore, consider that the indenture of 1464 was either not acted on, or that coins struck under it have not yet been discovered. Now as heavy and light coins of Edward IV have constantly been found together, and as the heavy coins will not fit in with the terms of the document of 1464, and as the light ones must be considered to have been issued with the light gold coins, we can only come to one conclusion, viz., that the indenture was not acted on. This being the case, we can more readily understand another indenture being brought forward so soon after. There is a third point to be noticed in connection with the 1465 indenture. Angels are for the first time referred to. The reference is to the pieces stamped with an angel, and a further reference to 6s. 8d. as their value. This is another difficulty that has to be

met. It seems curious that no kind of description of these angels should have been given, and, furthermore, we must at present believe that nobles and angels were not struck concurrently. The nobles bear the mintmarks of all the earlier silver coins, and when these cease, the angels take up the sequence, so that on nobles and angels together we get the complete series of mintmarks of the silver coins, though no noble or angel bears the same mark in common. Again, the indenture mentions pieces impressed with angels, but no notice is taken of the half-angels, which equally well come under this category. I think we may therefore conclude that, although angels are mentioned in 1465, their issue was postponed.

1465, therefore, and not 1464, is the correct date for the issue of what we now know as Edward IV's light coinage both gold and silver. As Nevil became Archbishop of York in 1464, he would, therefore, be in time to strike heavy coins. One objection may be taken, in that the time between his appointment to York and the issue of the light coinage was too short to enable him to prepare dies for a heavy coinage. The answer is, that in an equally short time Henry VI was able to issue a fairly abundant light coinage.

The York pieces, which I place to the heavy coinage, read Edward Rex Angli, and resemble the heavy London groats in general style and workmanship.

Further than to note that the find contains heavy coins of both York and Durham I have not considered it necessary to go, and have relegated descriptions of individual specimens to the list. The number of varieties of the light pence is extraordinary, and the condition of some of them excellent.

The find covers a period of about 120 years, Edward

III's earliest groat being struck before the treaty of Bretigny, about 1351, and the latest coins, those of Henry VI restored, being minted in 1470. The early coins were all in bad preservation, the later ones all fine, though many were badly struck. The owner must have buried them in or about 1470, and one wonders whether he may not have been one of those who took an active part in the troubles then going on between the King-maker and the King. The owner's fortune being chiefly in pence leads us to the belief that he was not an over-rich man, though a man of poverty would not have been able to accumulate as much.

The hoard described thus furnishes additional evidence as to the correctness of the sequence of mintmarks of Edward IV's reign, and also positive evidence as to the existence of a coinage of heavy pence.

GROATS.

EDWARD III.

Struck before the Treaty of Bretigny. London mint, m.m. cross-pattée 3

HENRY V.

Obv.—HENRIC DI × GRX × REX × ANGLI × S × FRANC.
Quatrefoil after Henric, arch on breast fleured, no mullet,
m.m. cross-pattée. Rev.—The usual legends, quatrefoil
after POSVI, m.m. cross-pierced. London 1

Annulet coinage, reading ANGLI, m.m. cross-pierced.
Calais mint 5

HENRY VI.

Annulet rosette coinage. Rosettes after POSVI and SIG of
ANGLI, m.m. cross-voided. Calais mint 1

Rosette, pine-cone masche. <i>Obv.</i> —Usual legend, rosette after HENRICI, DI, ANGEL, and Z, pine-cone after GRAN, masche after REX. M.m. cross-patonce. <i>Rev.</i> —Usual legend, pine-cone after POSVI and CIVLHSIS. Masche before L of Villa, two saltires after L. M.m. plain cross. Calais mint. A new variety	1
Pine-cone pellet coinage, with cone on neck. Hawkins No. 60. London mint	6

LIGHT LONDON GROATS.

EDWARD IV.

(a) M.m. rose, usual legends, arch on breast fleured, C struck over fleur, quatrefoil each side of neck, saltires as stops. <i>Rev.</i> —M.m. sun, usual legends. This is a very rare coin	1
(b) As a, but no C. <i>Rev.</i> —M.m. rose	1
(c) As b, but extra pellet in the quarter under DOR	1
(d) As b, but extra pellet in the quarter under CIVI, no stops on reverse	1
(e) As b, but extra pellet in the quarter under TAN, arch on breast not fleured	1
(f) As b, but arch on breast not fleured	1
(g) As a, but no C	2
(h) M.m. sun both sides, quatrefoils at sides of neck, saltire stops, arch fleured	1
(i) M.m. sun both sides, quatrefoils at sides of neck, saltire stops, arch not fleured	2
(j) M.m. <i>Obv.</i> —Crown. <i>Rev.</i> —Sun. Quatrefoils at sides of neck, saltire stops, arch not fleured, on arch	1
(k) M.m. crown both sides, quatrefoils at sides of neck, saltire stops, arch fleured	7
(l) M.m. crown both sides, quatrefoils at sides of neck, no stops, arch fleured	2
(m) M.m. <i>Obv.</i> —Cross-fitché. <i>Rev.</i> —Sun, trefils at sides, saltire before and after S, otherwise no stops	1
(n) M.m. <i>Obv.</i> —Cross-pierced. <i>Rev.</i> —(?) Saltire stops, reads D&I for DI	1

LIGHT YORK GROATS.

(a) M.m. lis, & on breast, quatrefoil each side of neck, saltire stops. 3

(b) As a, but trefoil stops on obverse, and the whole coin resembles those of London, with annulet and cross-fitchée m.ms. 1

HALF-GROATS.

HENRY VI.

Annulet coinage, Calais mint 1

EDWARD IV.

Canterbury mint, m.m. pall with cross over it. Bourchier knot on breast 1

PENCE.

EDWARD III.

(a) M.m. cross-pattée. Legend commences EDWARDVS annulets in four quarters of the reverse. London mint 1

(b) M.m. cross-pattée. Legend EDWARD DI GRAN REX crosses as stops, quatrefoil in centre of cross on reverse. York mint 1

RICHARD II.

M.m. cross-pattée. RICHARDVS REX ANGLIE, + on breast, pellet over each shoulder, quatrefoil on reverse. York mint 1

HENRY IV. OR V.

M.m. not clear. Reads HENRICVS, mullet on each side of crown, quatrefoil enclosing pellet in centre of reverse. York mint 1

A penny of coarse work without symbols, quatrefoil enclosing lis (?) in centre of reverse. York mint 1

HENRY V.

M.m. cross-voided. *hENRIC REX ANGL & FRANC*, mullet at right, broken annulet at left of crown, quatrefoil in centre of reverse. York mint 1

HENRY VI.

Pennies of the annulet coinage of York, with annulet in one quarter of the reverse 2

York penny of cross and pellet coinage, reading *hENRIC*, little cross between *hEN* and *RIC* 1

Pence from Edward III. to Henry VI. chiefly illegible and mostly of the York mint 15

HENRY VI.—Durham Pence.

(a) M.m. cross-patonce, *hENRIC*, a little cross between *hEN* and *RIC* *ANGLI*, pellet each side of crown. *Rev.*—*CIVITAS DVROL* no symbols in centre 1

(b) Another, same where legible. See Hawkins No. 8, Class VI. 2

HENRY VI.—York Pence of the Restoration in 1470. Light coinage.

(a) M.m. lis (?) *hENRICV DI GRAN REX ANGL*, 6 and key at sides of neck. *Rev.*—*CIVITAS ABORACI*, quatrefoil in centre 1

(b) M.m. lis (?) *hENRIC DI GRAN REX ANGL*, 6 and key at sides of neck. *Rev.*—*CIVITAS ABORACI*, quatrefoil in centre 1

(c) M.m. lis (?) *hENRI* *ANG*, 6 and key at sides of neck. *Rev.*—*CIVITAS ABORACI*, quatrefoil in centre 1

EDWARD IV.—York Pence. Group I., coins omitting *DI GRAN* from the legend, and therefore called heavy coins. They all present a peculiar bust like that on the heavy groats. The m.m.s. also correspond with these.

(a) M.m. rose. *EDWARD REX ANGLI*, 6 and key at sides of neck. *Rev.*—*CIVITAS ABORACI*. Quatrefoil in centre of cross. Eight specimens, average weight 12 grs., heaviest 12·6 grs., lightest 9·25 grs. 8

(b) M.m. cross, otherwise as <i>a</i> . Weights 10 grs. and 9.5 grs.	2
(c) M.m. illegible, otherwise as <i>a</i> . Average weight 11 grs.	6
(d) M.m. and legend much gone, coins much chipped, but of the same type as <i>a</i> . Average weight 10.65 grs.	10

Group II. With DI 6R π in the legend. None of them read ΠΩ6LI. Average weight of 65, 10.89 grs.

(a) M.m. rose, EDWARD DI 6R π REX ΠΩ6L, 6 and key at sides of neck. Rev.—CIVITAS Eboraci. Quatrefoil in centre of reverse. Average weight of 20 coins 11.05 grs., heaviest 11.5 grs.	20
(b) M.m. rose (?) As <i>a</i> , but no quatrefoil in centre of reverse. Weight 10 grs. Very rare	1
(c) M.m. cross-pierced, otherwise as <i>a</i> . 10.5 grs. and 10 grs.	2
(d) As <i>c</i> , but ΠΩ6. 9 grs.	1
(e) M.m. plain cross, otherwise as <i>a</i>	1
(f) M.m. and last letters of legend missing, quatrefoil to right and some mark to left of neck, no quatrefoil in centre of reverse. Weight 9.05 grs.	1
(g) M.m. cross struck over lis, reads ΠΩ6, pierced cross to right, rose (?) to left of neck. Rev.—As <i>a</i> . Very rare. Weight 10 grs.	1
(h) M.m. cross (?) ΠΩ6, no symbols at sides of neck. Otherwise as <i>a</i> . Weight 10 grs.	1
(i) As <i>h</i> , but ΠΩ6L. 10 grs.	2
(j) M.m. and most of legend gone, but little trefoil stops visible, bust with very long hair, no symbols at neck, and no quatrefoil in centre of reverse, very coarse work. Weight 10.5 grs.	1
(k) M.m. lis. Otherwise as <i>a</i>	2
(l) Pence of Nevil, with 6 and key at sides of neck, but illegible otherwise	32

EDWARD IV.—Heavy Durham Ponce.

These omit DI 6R π from the legend. There were four specimens in the find, all in very bad condition. One had m.m. cross, one read ΠΩ6L^{IB}, and one ΠΩ6L^{IS}. All had a rose in the centre of the reverse, and the mint name DOROLI

EDWARD IV.—Light Durham Pence.

(a) M.m. rose. EDWARD D^{GI} GR^A R^AX $\pi\Omega$ or $\pi\Omega$ 6. B for Booth to right of crown. V on breast, small cross each side of neck. Rev.—CIVITAS DVROLMI^A. D in centre of cross, extra pellet in each quarter, V in first quarter, two small crosses after T^AS 10

(b) As a, but omits B and V on obverse, and also the crosses at the neck. Has, however, two crosses above crown, and reads DI for D^{GI}. $\pi\Omega$, $\pi\Omega$ 6 or $\pi\Omega$ 6L 9

(c) M.m. rose. EDWARD DI GR^A R^AX $\pi\Omega$ 6. Rev.—CIVITAS D^AR^A Ω . D in centro of cross 1

(d) M.m. rose. EDWARD DI GR^A R^AX $\pi\Omega$ 6. Rev.—CIVITAS DV . . . Ω . Nothing in centre 1

(e) M.m. rose. EDWARD DI GR^A R^AX $\pi\Omega$ 6. Rev.—CIVITAS D^A . . . Ω . D in centre. B to left, V to right of neck, x before D^A 1

(f) M.m. rose (?) EDWARD DI GR^A R^AX $\pi\Omega$ 6. Rev.—CIVITAS (?) D in centre. B to left, 4 pellets to right of neck 1

(g) M.m. (?) EDWARD DI GR^A R^AX $\pi\Omega$ 6L. Rev.—CIVITAS . . . Ω Ω . Nothing in centre. B to right, 4 pellets to left of neck 2

(h) M.m. crown. EDWARD DI GR^A R^AX $\pi\Omega$ 6. Rev.—CIVITAS DVRR^A Ω (?) Nothing in centre. V to right, 4 pellets to left of neck 1

(i) M.m. crown. EDWARD DI GR^A R^AX $\pi\Omega$ 6. Rev.—CIVITAS D^A . . . R^A Ω . Nothing in centre. Lis to right, lis to left of neck 2

(j) M.m. crown. EDWARD DI GR^A R^AX $\pi\Omega$ 6. Rev.—CIVITAS D^A . . . R^A Ω . Nothing in centro. Trefoil to right, trefoil to left of neck 1

(k) M.m. crown. EDWARD DI GR^A R^AX $\pi\Omega$ 6L. Rev.—CIVITAS D^AR^A Ω . Nothing in centre. 4 pellets to right, 4 pellets to left of neck, x after D^AR^A Ω 1

(l) M.m. (?) EDWARD DI GR^A R^AX $\pi\Omega$ 6L. Rev.—CIVITAS DVROL . . . Nothing in centre, x between DV and ROL 2

(m) M.m. trefoil. EDWARD DI GR^A R^AX $\pi\Omega$ 6. Rev.—CIVITAS D^A . . . Nothing in centre. Trefoils as stops on reverse 1

(n) M.m. trefoil. EDWARD DI GRATIA REX ANG. Rev.— CIVITAS . . . REX. Nothing in centre. No trefoils.	1
(o) M.m. trefoil. EDWARD DI GRATIA REX ANG (?) Rev.— CIVITAS DURHAM . . . Nothing in centre. No trefoils	1
Broken and illegible Durham coins	10

IRISH COINS (penny size). English types.

EDWARD IV.—Dublin.

M.m. gone. . . DWARD DNS . . . CIVITAS . . . LIM	
Drogheda.	

(a) M.m. cross pierced. EDW . . . DNS x HYBER x Rev.— . . . L A D B DROG	3
(b) M.m. (?) EDWARD DR . . . R VILL A D B DROG B. Annulet between pellets in two quarters	2

Coins of Irish fabric, very thin, uncertain mints.

M.m. and obverse legend illegible. Rev.—English type, with quatrefoil in centre of reverse. CIVITAS B O D B O D .	2
Another with larger quatrefoil, legend where visible the same	1
Illegible	2

L. A. LAWRENCE.

VII.

GREEK COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM IN 1895.

(See Plate VII.)

DURING the year 1895 (January to December) the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum has acquired 677 coins of the Greek class, 20 of which are gold and electrum, 178 silver, and 479 bronze. These coins have been acquired mainly by purchase, but some are gifts due to the kindness of Major-General Malcolm Clerk, Lord Grantley,¹ Mr. A. J. Lawson, Mr. W. R. Paton, and Dr. Hermann Weber.

A description of noteworthy specimens is given in the following pages. Many other specimens of interest acquired during the past year will be described in Mr. Head's *Catalogue of the Coins of Caria* and in other volumes of the British Museum Catalogue now in progress.²

¹ Twenty-two bronze coins of various parts of the Greek world.

² Important Greek acquisitions of the Department of Coins and Medals for the years 1887—1894 will be found described by me in the *Num. Chron.* for 1888, p. 1 f.; 1889, p. 249 f.; 1890, p. 311 f.; *cf.* 1891, p. 116; 1891, p. 117 f.; 1892, p. 1 f.; 1893, p. 1 f.; 1894, p. 1 f.; 1895, p. 89 f. I have once more had the advantage of consulting the section on Greek Coins written by Mr. Barclay Head for the Report on the British Museum annually presented to the House of Commons.

ERYX (SICILY).

1. *Obv.*—Hound advancing r.; head lowered; behind, three stalks of corn upright: border of dots.

Rev.—Aphrodite of Eryx, wearing chiton and peplos, seated l. on stool; on her r. hand, dove; before her, Eros standing with r. hand raised. [In exergue, traces of legend?]

A.R. Size 1·05. Wt. 256·5 grs.

The rarity of the tetradrachms of Eryx (*circ. B.C. 415*) is well known. Mr. Greenwell³ published one, from his collection, with a reverse type similar to this, and *obv.*, quadriga. The obverse of our coin (which is found on another coin of Eryx; Imhoof-Blumer, *Monn. gr.*, p. 17, No. 16, type 1) occurs at Segesta (*B. M. Cat., Sicily*, p. 134, No. 36 f.), where the dog represents the river-god Crimisus, the lover of the maiden Segesta. The close connection of Eryx and Segesta in the period B.C. 480—400 is indicated by the coin-types that they have in common.⁴

The present coin was formerly in the possession of Mr. H. Montagu, from whose executors it was purchased for the Museum. Another tetradrachm with the same types, but with the legend **EPYKAI [I?] IB** (retrograde) on a tablet on the reverse, is in the Montagu Sale Catalogue (Greek coins, March, 1896), Lot 95, Pl. II., 95.

ISTRUS (MOESIA INFERIOR).

2. *Obv.*—Two youthful male heads (the Dioscuri) side by side; the head on the right inverted.

³ *Num. Chron.*, 1880, p. 2. Mr. Greenwell's specimen is inscribed on the *rev.* **EPVKINON**.

⁴ Cf. Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 120.

Rev.—**IΣΤΠΗ** Sea-eagle, with closed wings, standing l. on dolphin; in field, r. (above dolphin), A; whole in incuse square.

R. ·7. Wt. 107 grs. [Pl. VII. 1.]

This drachm—purchased at the Carfiae Sale in 1894, Lot 134—differs from the mass of the coins of Istrus both in having a well-marked incuse square⁵ and in respect to the high relief and bold treatment of the obverse. It can hardly be later than B.C. 400. Mr. Head (*Hist. Num.*, p. 235) assigns the coins hitherto published to *circ. B.C.* 300, but it would seem that some must be placed in the interval between 400 and 300 B.C., especially those specimens on whose reverses a circular depression is visible.

Colonel Leake⁶ explained the heads of the obverso as being “intended probably for the Dioscuri, who were worshipped in many cities of the Euxine, particularly in the neighbourhood of Tomi. The position of the heads may refer to the myths, according to which they dwelt alternately in heaven and in the infernal regions.” Leake’s suggestion has, I believe, been generally adopted by numismatists, and is accepted by M. Albert in his monograph *Le culte de Castor et Pollux*. Such a representation of the Dioscuri is quite exceptional, and the absence of star and pileus is somewhat strange. At the same time the Dioscuri, as protectors of seafaring folk, would naturally be worshipped by the inhabitants of a maritime and commercial town like Istrus. The reverse type is of a distinctly marine character.

⁵ A specimen in the Berlin Museum has the incuse square, Von Sallet, *Beschreibung*, I. p. 51, No. 1; Pl. II. 28.

⁶ *Num. Hell.*, “Europ. Gr.,” p. 55.

AGATHOPOLIS (THRACIAN CHERONESE).

8. *Obv.*—ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣ Head of Nero r., laur.*Rev.*—ΑΓΑΘΟ . . ΛΙΤΩΝ Poppy-head on long stalk between two ears of corn.

Æ. Size ·8.

All the coins of Agathopolis hitherto published⁷ are autonomous (*circ. B.C. 300* or later) and relate to the divinities Apollo, Athena, and Hermes. The reverse type of this specimen refers to Demeter or Persephone.⁸

PHILIPPI (MACEDONIA).

4. *Obv.*—Head of young Herakles r., wearing lion's skin tied under chin.*Rev.*—ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ Tripod; in field r., lion's head r.

Æ. Size ·75. Wt. 133 grs. [Pl. VII. 2.]

Circ. B.C. 336. The lion's head is an unpublished symbol, and the Herakles of the obverse is less stiff and formal in treatment than is usual at Philippi.

EUREA (THESSALY).

5. *Obv.*—Head of Maenad, three-quarter face towards l., wreathed with grapes; border of dots.*Rev.*—ΕΥΠΕΑΙ! Ω Ν. Vine-branch, with bunch of grapes and leaves; above grapes, Λ.

Æ. Size ·9. [Pl. VII. 3.]

⁷ See Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 228; *Num. Chron.*, iv., 2; Fox, *Engravings, &c.*, No. 46; Imhoof-Blumer in *Num. Zeit.*, 1884, p. 239; Von Sallet, *Beschreibung*, i., p. 244.

⁸ Cf. types of coins Elaea in Aeolis; Wroth, *Cat. Troas*, p. liii.





The existence of a similar coin was first made known by Dr. Weil,⁹ who recognised that the specimen must belong to a Thessalian town, Eurea, probably in Pelasgiotis. The name of this town is not, however, known to us from any other source.

M. Blanchet has since published¹⁰ a specimen acquired by the French Collection, adopting the attribution to Eurea.

UNCERTAIN THESSALIAN.

6. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus r., laur.; border of dots.

Rev.—P Vine-branch with bunch of grapes and leaves; above grapes, Λ.

Æ. Size .75. [Pl. VII. 4.]

This was purchased last year, from a coin dealer, in a lot including No. 5 and some miscellaneous Greek coins, two of which were Æ of Melitea and Pharsalus. It closely resembles No. 5 in style, and is covered, like that coin, with a fine green patina. The reverses of both coins are nearly identical, and on both the letter Λ appears. The inscription is obscure, but I do not think it is intended for ΕΥΠΕΑΙΩΝ. The P is followed by several other letters, . . ΣΙ . . Ν? none of which are quite certain. One or more letters may possibly have preceded the P.

Both coins belong to the same period, B.C. 400—344, and were probably struck at neighbouring towns.

⁹ *Zeit. für Num.*, i. (1874), p. 178.

¹⁰ *Rev. Num.*, 1895, p. 241; Pl. IV., 15. In the description of the French coin the existence of the wreath of grapes on the *obv.*, and the Λ on the *rev.*, have not been noted. I gather that the French specimen is identical with that published by Dr. Weil.

PHENEUS (ARCADIA).

7. *Obv.*—Hermes, naked, seated l. on basis of two steps; petasos hangs behind neck; in r. holds caduceus; l. hand rests on basis. [On obverse uncertain characters in graffito.]

Rev.—ΦΕ Ram standing l.

R. Size 45. Wt. 14.8 grs. [Pl. VII. 5.]

Θεῶν δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἐρμῆν Φενεάται μάλιστα (Paus. viii., 14, 10). This unpublished coin offers an addition to the Hermes types of Pheneus. The pose and treatment of the figure are simpler and more severe than on the later coins of the place, B.C. 370—300, which show Hermes seated on a rock (Gardner, Cat. *Pelop.*, pl. xxxvi., 8), and the specimen must belong to the earlier part of the period, B.C. 431—370. The design has the appearance of being derived from an original in sculpture, of the school of Polycleitus the elder, who is known to have made a statue of Hermes.¹¹

CNOSSUS (CRETE).

8. *Obv.*—ΜΟΝΙΚ Minotaur, head facing, running r.; l. hand raised, holding stone; r. hand lowered: border of dots.

Rev.—Cruciform labyrinth formed of Maeander pattern and ornamented with five stars; in each corner, small incuse square; the whole in incuse square.

R. Size 1.1. Wt. 175.5 grs. [Pl. VII. 6.]

An unpublished variety (purchased at the sale of the coins of the United Service Institute, 1895, Lot 45) resembling, generally, the didrachm in Svoronos, *Num. de*

¹¹ See Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculp. grecque*, i., p. 508 f.

la Crète, pl. iv., 24,¹² the obverse of which is uninscribed, and has the type to l. This coin, with its vigorous representation of the Minotaur, is of the early part of the fifth century, but later than the lumpy stater, No. 1, in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Crete*, "Cnossus." In its flat, spread fabric it resembles the Museum coin with rev. head of Theseus (*Ib.* No. 2).

Cyzicus (Mysia).

9. *Obv.*—Bearded Herakles, naked, kneeling l., holding in r. club resting on his right shoulder; in l., empty horn; behind, tunny.

Rev.—Incuse square of mill-sail pattern.

El. Size .85. Wt. 246 grs. [Pl. VII. 7.]

Specimens of this interesting stater are in the Bibliothèque Nationale and in the cabinets of Mr. Greenwell and Dr. Hermann Weber (Greenwell, *Cyzicus*, No. 67). The present coin was offered for sale in London last year, and Dr. Weber, aware that it was not represented in the national collection, kindly purchased and presented it. The coin belongs to the later portion of the second period of the Cyzicus electrum coinage, B.C. 450—400. In style it resembles the "Orestes" stater.¹³ On the type, Mr. Greenwell remarks (*loc. cit.*): "Herakles, after his defeat of Achelöus, when he tore off one of his horns, is here represented either holding that horn, or receiving in exchange that of Amaltheia, the well-known horn of plenty." It would rather appear that these explanations were invented in antiquity to explain the occurrence of the horn as a Heraklean attribute in not a few works of

¹² Cf. Pl. IV. 25, and the Supplement, Pl. XI., Nos. 13, 14.

¹³ Greenwell, *Cyzicus*, No. 72.

art of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.¹⁴ The horn apparently symbolises material prosperity, and is sometimes filled with fruit. It came to Herakles through his connection with Pluto and other divinities of the under world, and on a Theban votive relief of the fifth century B.C. the hero is represented as receiving it from Pluto.

Herakles holding horn and club occurs on Cypriote coins (B.C. 411—374).¹⁵

A bronze coin of Athens, of Imperial times,¹⁶ shows a terminal figure of Herakles holding the club and the empty horn.

PARIUM (MYSIA).

10. *Obv.*—Cista mystica with half-open lid, from which a serpent issues l.; the whole in wreath of ivy.

Rev.—Two coiled serpents with heads erect; between them, a bow-case (ornamented with an aplustre), containing bow; in field l., ΔΙ; in field r., Δ



and sheath of sword (?)¹⁷

A.R. Size 1·05. Wt. 187·8 grs.

An unpublished variety of the cistophori of Parium (B.C. 200—133), which almost invariably bear a (varying)

¹⁴ See Hartwig, *Herakles mit dem Füllhorn*, Leipzig, 1883; Furtwängler, in Roscher's *Lexicon*, art. "Herakles," i., pp. 2157, 2176, 2187—2189.

¹⁵ Babelon, *Les Perses achéménides*, Pl. XVI., No. 27; Montagni, Sale Cat., Greek Coins, 1896, Lot 672.

¹⁶ Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Pausanias*, p. 148; Pl. DD. XII.

¹⁷ Pinder, *Cistophoren*, p. 562, No. 74, mentions a specimen with symbol "parazonium."

symbol without letters or monogram other than the mint monogram.¹⁸

NEANDRIA (TROAS).

11. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., laureate; hair short.

Rev.—NEAN Ram standing r. with head lowered, biting leaves of branch; whole in incuse square.

R. Size .5. Wt. 30 grs. [Pl. VII. 8.]

This interesting coin was purchased at the Ashburnham Sale in 1895 (Lot 153), by Dr. Hermann Weber, who kindly presented it to the British Museum.

The coins of Neandria, described in the *Brit. Mus. Cat., Troas, &c.*, are: 1. R. *Obv.* Head of Apollo. *Rev.* Horse feeding. 2. R. *Obv.* Head of Apollo. *Rev.* Ram standing (head not lowered). 3. R. *Obv.* Crested helmet (?). *Rev.* Corn-grain. 4—11. Various \mathbb{A} , with head of Apollo, &c. These were assigned by me in the catalogue to the period "B.C. 400 (or earlier)—B.C. 310."

No. 1¹⁹ and No. 3 can hardly be earlier than B.C. 400. No. 2 must be classed with the new coin, and both might be placed as early as B.C. 430.²⁰

The ram must be regarded as a symbol of the pastoral Apollo—*Karneios, Nomios, &c.* The lowered head of the animal (on the new coin) recalls the feeding horse on Neandrian and other Troad coins, and the feeding bull at Gargara. Here, however, the ram is engaged in biting the leaves of a branch, the nature of which is not clearly

¹⁸ See Pinder, *op. cit.*, p. 562, where one specimen, No. 71, has the letter A in addition to the symbol; Wroth, *Cat. Mysia*, p. 99; Bunbury in *Num. Chron.*, 1888, p. 184.

¹⁹ Cf. *Cat. Troas*, Pl. X. 5, Gargara.

²⁰ The obv. of No. 2 recalls an Apollo head at Mytilene, *Cat. Troas, &c.*; Plate XXXVII., 11, B.C. 440—400.

indicated by the engraver. Possibly it is intended for the laurel-branch of Apollo, which was supposed in antiquity to be possessed of medicinal and purificatory virtues.

CAME (ÆOLIS ?).

12. *Obv.*—ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC KAICAP Head of Hadrian r., laur.

Rev.—ΚΑΜΗΝΩΝΕ ΠΙΤΡΥΦΩΝΟC Hygieia, wearing chiton and peplos, standing l., holding in r. patera; in l. serpent.

Æ. Size .8.

A similar specimen was published by Dr. Von Sallet in the *Zeit. für Num.*, 1885, p. 70. Came is unknown in the authors, and its position is doubtful; some numismatists placing it in Æolis and others in Mysia.²¹ It is worth while, therefore, to note that our coin was procured by Dr. Buresch at *Palamut*, near which place are the ruins of the Lydian town *Apollonis*.²² Other coins of Came have been found at, or near, *Adramyteum*, in Mysia.²³

MYTILENE (LESBOS).

13. *Obv.*—Female head facing, bound with riband.

Rev.—Μ V T I Goat's head r.; whole in incuse square.

Æ. Size .35. Wt. 10·1 grs. [Pl. VII. 9.]

An unpublished coin, kindly presented by Mr. A. J. Lawson, of Smyrna. The head on the obverse bears

²¹ See Wroth, *Cat.*, *Troas*, p. lxii. M. Th. Reinach (*Rev. des études grecques*, 1895, p. 283) thinks that the form of the ethnic indicates Mysia rather than Aeolis.

²² Wilson, *Handbook, Asia Minor* (1895), p. 84.

²³ *Cat., Troas*, p. lxii.

a resemblance to those found on the silver²⁴ and electrum²⁵ money of Mytilene, *circ.* B.C. 440 and later. The goat's head on the reverse is perhaps a symbol of the Apollo Μαλόεις of Mytilene,²⁶ a god of flocks and herds.

EPHESUS (IONIA).

14. *Obv.* — AVTKMAVPCE B ΑΛΕΙΑΝΔΡΟC
Bust of Severus Alexander r., laur., wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev. — ΜΟΝΩΝΠΡΩΤ ΩΝΑΙΑΙC ΕΦΕCΙΩN
Turreted female figure (the City of Ephesus) seated l., wearing chiton and peplos; in r., two ears of corn; in l., long sceptre; before her, cultus-statue of the Ephesian Artemis facing.

Æ. Size 1·4. [Pl. VII. 10 *rev.*]

PHOCÆA (IONIA).

Circ. B.C. 500.

15. *Obv.* — Lion crouching l.; above, seal l.

Rev. — Incuse square of mill-sail type.

El. Size .45. Wt. 40·9 grs. [Pl. VII. 11.]

HYDISUS (CARIA).

16. *Obv.* — Bust of Athena r. wearing crested helmet; linear border.

Rev. — Υ ΔΙ Σ Ε Ω Ν Bearded male figure (Zeus?) standing facing, looking r.; he wears helmet and cuirass and holds in r. spear, in l. shield.
Æ. Size .75. [Pl. VII. 12.]

²⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Troas, &c.*, "Mytilene," Nos. 1, 2.

²⁵ *Ib.*, Pl. XXXII., 19.

²⁶ Welcker, *Griech. Götterlehre*, i., p. 486. A goat occurs as a type at the Lesbian town Pyrrha.

No coins have hitherto been attributed to Hydisus, and Mr. Head kindly allows me to quote here his unpublished remarks on this specimen:—

“Hydisus, in Caria, is placed by Kiepert about twenty-five miles S.E. of Alabanda. It is mentioned by Ptolemy (v. 2, 20) and by Pliny (v. 29, 29). The first letters of its name occur in the Athenian Tribute Lists (*C. I. A.*, vol. i. 231, 233), and in an inscription from Lagina (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* ix. 444), it appears as Hydisos, a spelling confirmed by the newly-discovered coin.

“This coin dates from the first century B.C., probably from the time when, after the end of the Mithradatic War, the Romans, by a *Senatus Consultum* (B.C. 81), conferred freedom upon the towns of Caria which had remained faithful to them.”

I may add that another specimen of this coin has been in the British Museum for some years, but owing to two letters in the inscription being indistinct, its correct attribution was not till recently recognised. It is not from the same die as the new coin, and its reverse shows the details of the cuirass and the beard more clearly. Mr. Head suggests that a local Carian divinity—resembling Zeus—is intended by the armed warrior.

NYSA (LYDIA).

17. *Obv.*—**M · AVPHAI · OVHPOC · KAI**· Bust of young Aurelius r., bare, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—**ΕΠΙΑΙΤΤΑΙΩΝΙΟΒΕ** (=*ιερέως*) **ΑΘVM** **BPOCNVCA ΕΩΝ** Naked youth (Athymbrus) standing l., extending patera held in r. hand over lighted altar; in l. hand, spear; chlamys wound round l. arm.

Æ. Size 1·15. [Pl. VII. 18.]

Cp. Mionnet, iii., p. 366, No. 366. The figure on the reverse is the Spartan emigrant, Athymbrus, the reputed founder of Nysa, a town which originally bore the name of Athymbra. This figure resembles Cyzicus, the eponymous hero of the city of Cyzicus, on the coins of which he is represented (see Babelon in *Rev. Num.*, 1891, p. 31 f., pl. iv. 2; *Brit. Mus. Cat., Mysia*, p. 47, No. 217, note).

CERETAPA (PHRYGIA).

18. *Obv.*—**M. AVPHAIIOC BHPOC · KAICAP** Bust of young M. Aurelius r. wearing paludamentum and cuirass; head bare.

Rev.—**ΔΙΟ ΚΕ ΚΑΡΕΩΝ** in ex., **ΚΕΡΕΤΑΠΕ ΟΝ** Herakles on l. wearing lion's skin over head and l. arm, standing facing; in r., club; on r., Zeus wearing himation, standing l.; in l., sceptre.

Æ. Size 1·5.

The title of "Diocæsarea," borne by Ceretapa, was already known from a coin of Commodus.²⁷ The present specimen shows that it was adopted at least as early as the time of Aurelius. Herakles occurs on other coins of Ceretapa, and the Zeus is the Zeus Savazios (or Sabazios) of the district. A pedestal found at the modern Kaya-dibi (in all probability the ancient Ceretapa) is inscribed **ΔΙΕΙ ΚΑΙΕΑΠΙ**, a dedication in which the reigning Emperor is identified with Zeus.

Professor W. M. Ramsay²⁸ remarks that the title "Diocæsarea" implies the existence at Ceretapa of a cultus of the Emperor as Zeus; and that its establishment

²⁷ Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (Oxford, 1895), i., p. 276.

²⁸ *Loc. cit.*

"probably took place under Domitian, whose identification with Zeus formed an important point in the state-policy of the time."

CIBYRA ("PHRYGIA").

19. *Obv.* — AVKMAVC ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC Bust of Sev-
rus Alexander r., laur., wearing paludamentum
and cuirass.

Rev. — KI BV PATΩN Athena, wearing helmet,
chiton, and peplos, seated l.; in outstretched r.,
basket; in l., spear; her shield rests against
seat.

Æ. Size 1.

On another similar coin in the British Museum Athena holds a figure of Nike. The basket here held by the goddess is not her own attribute, but a symbol of the city. It is the wicker-basket (*κιβυσίς*?) that so often appears as a type of the Imperial coins of Cibyra, and which is seen on the head of the principal divinity of the city, a goddess usually called Demeter or Kybele, but who is perhaps, as Dr. Imhoof-Blumer has suggested,²⁹ to be identified with Artemis or Hekate.

HIERAPOLIS (PHRYGIA).

20. *Obv.* — AVKAIΘΕΟVYΩΝΕΡBATPAIANΩ
CΕΓΕΡΜΑ [YΩ = YΙΩ] Bust of Trajan
l., laur., wearing paludamentum.

Rev. — IEPATTO ΛΕΙΤΩΝ Hermes standing l.
holding in r. purse; in l., caduceus and chlamys;
petasos on shoulder. Athena standing r. (facing
Hermes), wearing helmet and chiton, with diplois;
in r., spear; l. hand on shield.

Æ. Size 1·2. [Pl. VII. 14 *rev.*]

An unpublished coin. The Hermes is of good style.

²⁹ *Griech. Münzen*, p. 674, No. 446. As to other coins of Cibyra published in recent years, see Babelon, *Rev. Num.*, 1893, pp. 386—388.

CÆSAREA (CAPPADOCIA) and SMYRNA (IONIA).

21. *Obv.*—**AVKAIΔCETTI CΕOVHPOC** Bust of Septimius Severus r., laur.

Rev.—**CMVPNE ΩNKAICAPΕ**... The Emperor, in cuirass and palndamentum, riding r. on horse; r. hand npraised; in l. hand sceptre.

Æ. Size 1·1.

An unpublished alliance coin. The absence of a local magistrate's name, the style, and the analogy of other alliance coins of Cæsarea and Smyrna (which have the Mount Argæus type, peculiar to Cæsarea), show that this specimen was struck at Cæsarea. The reverse inscription forms an exception to the general rule by which, on alliance coins, the name of the minting city precedes the name of the city in alliance with it.³⁰ The usual inscription of the coins of Smyrna is **CMYPNAΙΩΝ**, and not as here **CMVPNEΩΝ**.

ASIA MINOR (Uncertain Electrum).

22. *Obv.*—Two lions, standing on their hind legs, facing one another, but with heads turned back; between them is the capital of a column on which each lion rests a fore-paw, while the other fore-paw of each is raised.

Rev.—Rude incuse square.

El. Size .75. Wt. 216·1 grs. [Pl. VII. 15.]

An unpublished electrum stater of Phœnician weight, probably struck at some city (Miletus?) in the southern portion of Ionia.

³⁰ Other alliance coins of Cæsarea and Smyrna have the same peculiarity.

The type is entirely new in Greek numismatics, and is of exceptional interest from its presenting a motive, well known in the history of sculpture, from the Lion Gate of Mycenae and from the early Phrygian monuments, upon which Professor W. M. Ramsay has of late years thrown so much light.³¹

The old Phrygian monuments belong (according to Ramsay) to the ninth and eighth centuries before our era, and cannot be later than *circ.* 675 B.C. The coin before us can hardly be later than the middle of the seventh century B.C.; Mr. Head is even inclined to place it as early as 700 B.C. Whatever its exact date, it shows, as a work of art, a decided advance upon most of the early electrum staters. The engraver has treated his subject with decorative instinct, combining vigour with elegance, though failing to attain the massive simplicity of the sculptor's rendering.

WARRICK WROTH.

³¹ Cf. Ramsay, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, ix. (1888), p. 350 ff.; Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Ant.*, v. (1890), p. 109 ff.; Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpture grecque*, i. p. 36 f.

VIII.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO SICILIAN NUMISMATICS.—II.¹

(See Plates VIII.—X.)

1.—ON A HOARD OF COINS FOUND NEAR MESSINA, CONTAINING INCUSE COINS OF ZANKLÉ ON THE ITALIOT MODEL.

EARLY last year the small hoard of early silver coins of Zanklē and Naxos, to which the following notice refers, was found by some workmen who were blasting the rock for the new tram line on the Catania road near Messina. As will be seen, the find is of special interest from the fact that it supplies, for the first time from a Sicilian mint, coins struck on the early Italiot model, with the type repeated incuse on the reverse.

ZANKLÉ.

No. of Coins
in Hoard.

1. *Obv.*—DANKΛE under dolphin of elongated early type, the dorsal fin alone of which is clearly defined, contained within raised penannular band, outside which is a row of pellets.

Rev.—The same dolphin and band incuse 1

(Exceptionally large module, 1·05 in.)

Weight, 5·12 grammes = 79 grains.

[Plate VIII. Fig. 1.]

2. *Obv.*—DANKΛE. Dolphin of plumper and more advanced form with pronounced lower fin as well as dorsal. It is contained as before in

¹ See *Num. Chron.*, Ser. iii. Vol. xiv. p. 189, for "Contributions to Sicilian Numismatics—I."

No. of Coins
in Hoard.

a raised penannular band, but this has an inner as well as outer row of pellets.

Rev.—The same dolphin and band incuse 5

(Module somewhat smaller, '05 in.)

Weight, $5\cdot68$ grammes = 88 grains.

[Plate VIII. Fig. 2.]

8. *Obv.*—**DANKV** or **DANK** under smaller dolphin of same type as last, enclosed in somewhat broader band, with or without external pellets, and with four rectangular protuberances at equal intervals on its upper surface.

Rev.—Incuse key pattern with a square in the centre containing a scallop-shell in relief 7

(These coins are of exceptionally small module, '8 in.)

B. M. Cat., Nos. 1 and 2.

Weight, $5\cdot76$ grammes = 89 grains.

[Plate VIII. Fig. 3.]

4. *Obv.*—**DANK** Similar type, without the rectangular protuberances on the band.

Rev.—Similar 12

(Small module as the last, '8 in.)

B. M. Cat., No. 3.

Weight, $5\cdot5$ grammes = 85 grains.

5. *Obv.*—**DANKVE**³ Similar, but finer band within border of dots between two linear circles.

Rev.—Similar, but less incuse 31

(These coins are of larger module than Nos. 3 and 4, '9 in.)

B. M. Cat., Nos. 4—7.

Weight, $5\cdot63$ grammes = 87 grains.

² The average weight of the well-preserved specimens is given.

³ On some the legend has a more abbreviated form.

NAXOS.

6. *Obv.*—Bearded head of Dionysos l., with pointed beard and long hair indicated by small dots, crowned with ivy. In dotted border.

Rev.—ΝΟΙΧΑΙ. Bunch of grapes between two leaves 1
(*Cf. B. M. Cat.*, No. 4.)

7. *Obv.*—Same, but hair indicated by wavy lines. Border of dots between two circles.

Rev.—ΝΑΞΙΟΝ. Similar design 4
(*As B. M. Cat.*, No. 8.)

From the evidence collected by me, it appears that besides the coins that passed through my own hands, there were in the present hoard about twenty-five other coins of Naxos, similar to Nos. 6 and 7, for the most part in very bad condition, and about a hundred more coins of Zanklē of the same general character as Nos. 3—5. There were, however, according to my information, no other early incuse types like Nos. 1 and 2.

The summary analysis of the hoard is therefore approximately as follows:—

Zanklē.	Early incuse	6
	Other types described above . .	50
	,, not personally examined c.	100
		156
Naxos.	Described above	5
	Not personally examined c. . .	25
		80
	Total	186

The coins of this hoard are all drachms on the *Ægi-*

netan standard.⁴ The Naxian pieces, though found together with those of Zanklē, had proportionately suffered more from oxidation than the others, and had apparently been deposited in a more unfavourable position—as, for instance, near to the mouth of the pot containing the hoard. Otherwise, in spite of their present oxidised condition, many of them were, like a large number of the later Zanklæan types, comparatively fresh from the mint at the time when the hoard was withdrawn from circulation.

As to the date and occasion of the deposit, there are strong reasons for bringing it into connexion with the capture of Zanklē, in 493 B.C., by the Samian and Milesian refugees, at the instigation of Anaxilas of Rhēgion. It is now that the early coinage of Zanklē comes to an end, and is succeeded by that bearing Samian and Rhēgine types, and the name of the Messanians or Messenians. The fact that some of the latest of the early types of Zanklē occurred absolutely fresh from the mint, is itself almost sufficient to fix the date when this little hoard was hidden away. Its discovery near Messina naturally connects it with the historic catastrophe above referred to. On the other hand, the evidence of the Naxian pieces fully squares with this conclusion. It was about the same date that Hippokrates of Gela had seized Naxos, and incorporated it in his dominion. From the fact—brought out by the narrative of Herodotos—that at the moment of its capture Zanklē itself already stood in a state of subject alli-

⁴ During the latter part of this period, what seem to have been litras—five to the Attic drachm—were struck both at Zanklē and Naxos. The weight of these coins averages from 10 to 11.5 grains (.65 to .75 grammes), so that about twenty would go to three Æginetan drachms.

ance with Hippokrates, it is probable that his annexation of Naxos had somewhat preceded this event. He was strong enough in Western Sicily, not only to enslave the surviving Zanklæans who fell into his hands, but to impose his terms on the victorious Samians and Milesians.⁵

The early incuse pieces of Zanklē—Nos. 1 and 2 of the above list (Pl. VIII. Figs. 1, 2), which represent an earlier stage of the coinage than any yet known, may well go back on this showing to the middle of the sixth century. Between them and the latest issue of Zanklē, struck during the period immediately preceding 493 B.C., there intervene the intermediate types illustrated by Nos. 3 and 4.

Coins of the simple incuse form shown on these two earliest Zanklæan types, are hitherto unknown from any Sicilian mint. The later didrachms of Zanklē, which combine an incuse pattern with a small central design in relief, are also found at Naxos, Syracuse, Himera, and Selinūs. But the simple form in which the principal type of the obverse is seen incuse on the reverse, is otherwise confined to the cities of Southern Italy, where it seems to indicate a distinct monetary convention, going back to the early part of the sixth century B.C. The present coins are not so broadly spread as the earliest of the Italiot alliance pieces; but then it must be remembered that these were didrachms according to the Attic standard, weighing about 120 grains (7.78 grammes), while the Zanklæan coins are *Æginetan* drachms, weighing at most 88 grains (5.68 grammes). Type No. 1, which is distinctly the earlier of the two, is, relatively to its weight, as broadly spread as the early coins of Sybaris.

⁵ Herodot. vi. 22. Cf. Freeman, *Sicily*, ii. 112.

From the occurrence of these early incuse types, it would appear that during the first period of its coinage, Zanklē, though still adhering to the Æginetic standard of its Chalkidian founders, had separated itself from its kinsmen and from the usage of the Sicilian cities, by adopting the peculiar form of coinage in vogue among the members of the South Italian Monetary Convention. This adaptation of type points to the close commercial connexion existing between Zanklē and the cities of the Ionian shore of Italy in the middle of the sixth century B.C. The Sybarites no doubt continued to profit by the land transport over their isthmus, which took the wares of Milētos from the mouth of the Krathis to the emporia of the Tyrrhene coast. But to her less geographically favoured neighbours, and especially to her great rival Krotōn, the maritime trade sent through what are now the Straits of Messina was still of first-rate importance, and a commercial agreement with Zanklē was a natural goal of policy. That, during the latest period which preceded the seizure of Zanklē by the Samians and Milesians, an alliance existed between it and Krotōn appears from the following coin (already known, from an example in the Naples Museum, and another in Garrucci's collection),⁶ and of which I am able to exhibit a third specimen.

Obr.—**QPO.** Tripod lebēs, Kantharos to l.

Rev.—**DA.** Similar type; to r. thymiatérion.

Weight, 7.65 grammes (118 grains).

⁶ Garrucci, *Le Monete dell' Italia Antica*, II. Tav. cix. 4, p. 150, where it is rightly described as an alliance coin of Krotōn and Zanklē. Incidentally we learn from this coin that the incuse issues of Krotōn had ceased by 493 B.C.

The latest coins of Zanklē, described under No. 3 (Pl. VIII. Fig. 3), exhibit a curious peculiarity. The curved band, representing the *ζάγκλον*, or sickle-shaped bar of sand which formed the harbour and gave the name to the city,⁷ is divided by four rectangular protuberances, which give the whole a horse-shoe-like appearance. These protuberances obviously have some definite meaning. They may perhaps be explained as four towers, and the introduction of these on the coin would suggest that the citizens of Zanklē were divided into four tribes, each with its own fortified quarter. The various traditions of the foundation of Zanklē show, in fact, four principal elements,⁸ the original Sikel inhabitants who gave it its name; the colonists from Cumae; the later colonists from Chalkis and other parts of Eubœa; and finally, according to the account preserved by Strabo, those from the Sicilian Naxos.

2.—AN ALLIANCE PIECE OF MESSANA AND LOKRI
STRUCK IN THE SECOND QUARTER OF THE FIFTH
CENTURY.

Except during the period when Zanklē, now become Messana, was held down by the power of Anaxilas and his sons, the recurrent tendency of its shifting policy was to seek alliances against its former masters on the opposite side of the straits. Its most natural associates

⁷ Thuc. vi. 4. Ζάγκλη . . ὑπὸ τῶν Σικελῶν κληθεῖσα ὅτι δρέπανοειδὲς τὸ χωρίον τὴν ἑέαν ἐστί· τὸ δὲ δρέπανον οἱ Σικελοὶ ζάγκλον καλοῦσιν. The coins show that the truer orthography of the Sikel word is δάγκλον.

⁸ Compare Thuc., vi. 4, for the Sikel name (indicative of a native ingredient) and the Cuman and Eubœan colonists. Strabo, vi. 2, makes Zanklē a colony of the Sicilian Naxos which at least suggests that there was a Naxian element.

against Rhégion were the Lokrians, the borderers of the Rhégine dominions on the land side. The intimate connexion at one time existing between Messana and Lokri is well illustrated by an episode recorded by Thucydidēs, when describing the return voyage from Sicily of the Athenian ambassador Phœax, in 422 B.C. Phœax, on this occasion, fell in with a body of Lokrians who had just been expelled from Messana. These had been invited thither by one party during a civic feud, and Messana is even spoken of by the historian as having for a time passed into Lokrian hands.⁹ In 425 B.C., three years before the embassy of Phœax, we find that Messana, after yielding for a moment to Athenian demands, had reverted to her more natural position as the ally of Lokri and Syracuse.¹⁰ That a formal alliance existed between Messana and Lokri at a considerably earlier date appears from the following tetradraehm.¹¹

Obr.—Hare running r.; above its hind quarters, ΛΟ; beneath, **ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΟ[Ν]**.

Rer.—Biga of mules walking r. Male charioteer holding goad and reins. In ex. laurel leaf and berry.
[Plate VIII. Fig. 4.]

The style of this coin would lead us to refer it to the second quarter of the fifth century B.C. The Σ and Λ of the civic legend are features which characterize the Messanian coinage of the period immediately succeeding the

⁹ Thuc. v. 5., καὶ ἐγένετο Μεσσήνη Λοκρῶν τιὰ χρόνον. Cf. Freeman, *Sicily*, vol. iii., pp. 72, 73, who takes the words simply to imply that "the Lokrian element in Messana became so strong that Messana practically followed the lead of Lokroi."

¹⁰ Thuc. iv. 1, 1.

¹¹ Formerly in the Boyne Collection. Dr. Ettore Gabrici informs me that another example exists in the collection of Dr. J. P. Six, and another in that of Herr A. Löbbecke.

domination of Anaxilas, who introduced these Rhêgine coin-types at Messana about 480 B.C. That the tetradrachms with the legend **MEΣEANION** had appeared some time previous to the approximate date 450 B.C., is shown by the evidence of the Villabate hoard buried about that date, which contained a somewhat worn coin with this epigraphy.¹² The present type cannot, however, be regarded as by any means the earliest of those which show the Σ and Α; the form Ν instead of **N** is later, and the coin may be referred to a date not many years anterior to 450 B.C.

It is a noteworthy fact that if, as there seems every numismatic analogy for believing, the **ΑΟ** on the coin stands for **ΑΟΚΠΟΝ**, we have here the first monetary reference to the Epizephyrian Locri. For some unexplained reason it was not till a century later that this powerful city struck coins in its own name. It is possible, as Dr. Head suggests, that the laws of Zaleukos, like those of Lykurgos, may have forbidden the use of coined money.¹³ In any case the absence of a native Lokrian coinage lends additional interest to this Messanian alliance-piece.

3.—NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE OF A TEMPORARY RESTORATION OF ZANKLÈ.

The existence of a non-incuse coinage of Zanklè has been hitherto only known from the remarkable and unique tetradrachm (Pl. VIII. Fig. 7), the obverse of which represents a standing figure of Poseidôn¹⁴ hurling a thunderbolt.¹⁵

¹² *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Ser., 1894, p. 216.

¹³ *Historia Numorum*, p. 86.

¹⁴ See below, p. 118.

¹⁵ *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Ser., iii. (1883), p. 168, Pl. IX. 2. Described by Baron L. de Hirsch from his collection.

This coin, from its advanced style, has caused many searchings of heart amongst numismatists and archæologists. Dr. Head justly remarks on it, that from the very advanced style of the figure, he would have been inclined to attribute it to about the middle of the fifth century, but that "according to our historical data the name of Zanklē was no longer in use after the death of Anaxilas in B.C. 476."¹⁶

But the dilemma is more serious than this. There exists a whole series of coins with the legend **MESSENION** and **MESSANION**, and even **MESSANION**, the fabric of which is distinctly earlier than this tetradrachm with the legend **DANKVAIION**. That those with the Samian types—the lion's and calf's head—were struck shortly after the occupation of Zanklē by the Samians and Milesians in 493 B.C., there seems no good reason for doubting. It stands equally to reason that the almost contemporary tetradrachms with the Rhēgine types of the hare and the biga of mules, originated during the period of subject alliance under Anaxilas, who does not seem to have left the Samians long in the enjoyment of their conquest. Neither under the government of Anaxilas nor that of his sons could Zanklē have been restored, and the real alternative presented to us is, either that the tetradrachm in question was struck before 493 B.C., which is admittedly impossible, or that it was struck after 461, when the Messanians succeeded in throwing off the domination of the Rhēgine dynasty.

The absence of historic evidence of a temporary revival of Zanklē under its old name is of little account. Our knowledge of the history of this and so many other Sici-

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 175, 176.

lian and Magna Græcian cities is so fitful and fragmentary, that many most important events have remained unchronicled. Even where the history professes to be of a more continuous nature, the omissions are astounding. Diodoros—to take a single example—in recounting the history of Dionysios, does not so much as mention the capture of Krotón, at that time one of the most flourishing cities of Great Greece, or indeed, of the Hellenic world. The restoration of Messana's important neighbour Naxos, at about the same time as that of Katané, and of her own liberation from the yoke of the house of Anaxilas, is only known from coins, and it is to purely archæological and numismatic evidence, and not to what is a mere mockery of the name of history, that we must turn for the chronology of the late "Zanklæan" piece.

I am able to supply a small contribution to the evidence before us in the shape of a litra, also struck in the name of Zanklē, but separated by a lacuna of style and fabric from the earlier series.

Obv.—Dolphin l. in border of dots.

Rev.—DAN in border of dots.

Weight, .78 grammes (12 grains). [Plate VIII. Fig. 6.]

Comparing this with the older incuse litra shown on Pl. VIII. Fig. 5, the difference in character becomes manifest. The flowing outline of the dolphin on the later coin is widely separated from the stiff archaic curve on the incuse piece. The system here adopted of engraving on one side the civic badge, on the other the first letters of the name, both enclosed in a dotted circle, shows a

close parallelism with some small silver pieces of Rhégion, Messana, and Kaulonia.¹⁷

The fact that the present coin is a litra, fitting in with the Attic and Corinthian system as five to the drachm, does not itself prove a late date. The incompatibility of the Æginetan standard with the Sicilian method of reckoning according to the litra or silver value of a pound of bronze, had already obliged the Zanklæans, during the later period at least of their incuse coinage, to strike silver litras, such as that shown for comparison in Pl. VIII. Fig. 5.¹⁸ But during the earliest period of the Messanian coinage—that which presents the Samian types of the calf's and lion's heads—a more rigorously Æginetan system was adopted. Larger pieces, weighing about 17.50 grammes (c. 270 grains), were indeed struck, which might pass either as Æginetan tridrachms or Attic tetradrachms, but with these were issued small pieces of 0.90 grammes (c. 14 grains), representing the Æginetan obol, such as had been in use from the beginning of their coin-

¹⁷ Garrucci, *Le Monete dell'Italia Antica*, II. Pl. CXI. 28, p. 157 (after Avellino, *Giorn. Num.*, ii. 24, Tav. I. 9). The weight is not given, but the coin is apparently a litra.

¹⁸ Its weight is 0.70 grammes (c. 11 grains). The weight of others are:—(B. M. Cat., p. 99, No. 7) 0.78 grammes (11.3 grains); Imhoof-Blumer Coll., 0.78; Hunter Coll., 0.76 (11.4 grains). Dr. Imhoof-Blumer (*Monatsbericht der k. preuss. Akad.*, 1881, p. 659, *seqq.*) appears to group these with the Æginetan obols struck by the Chalkidian cities, Rhégion, Naxos, and Himera, as also by Messana during its earliest period of coinage. But the average weight of these obols is 0.90 grammes = one-sixth of the Æginetan drachm. It further appears that at Naxos, during the earliest period of the coinage, both Æginetan obols and Sicilian litras were issued. We find two classes of small coins, one weighing 1.10—0.88 grammes, the other 0.74—0.68.



Zanklē



1 2



3

Zanklē
Coins from Messina Hoard



Zanklē



4



Lokri and Messana



6



7



Zanklē restored



8

Kaulônia



9

Messana, signed ANAN



age by the other Chalkidian cities, Rhêgion, Naxos, and Himera.¹⁹

During the succeeding period when the mule-car and hare appear as the civic types, the litra again reappears, coupled with what we may by this time regard as a tetradrachm. These pieces show on one side the hare in a border of dots, on the other the retrograde inscription **S E M.**²⁰ But it is not till a somewhat later transitional date that we find the nearest approach to our present Zanklæan piece, on which the inscription appears as **M E Σ**, no longer retrograde.²¹

Let us now turn to the tetradrachm with the inscription **DANKVAIION** (Pl. VIII. Fig. 7). The style of this coin, as Dr. Head has pointed out, brings us down to the middle of the fifth century B.C. It might well indeed be brought down somewhat later than that date. It seems to me that some Magna-Græcian coin-types give a distinct clue to its chronology.

The figure of the god on the obverse side presents a remarkable combination of the attributes of Zeus and Poseidôn.²² The chlamys falling from the shoulders, and the general attitude, recall Poseidôn, but the thunderbolt, the usual attribute of Zeus, here takes the place of the trident. There is, however, a convincing proof that, in spite of this anomaly, the god here represented is no

¹⁹ See above, note 4, p. 104.

²⁰ *B. M. Cat.*, p. 101, Nos. 22, 23, 24.

²¹ *Op. cit.* p. 102, No. 85. Weight, 10·1 grains.

²² The type has been described by Baron de Hirsch (*Num. Chron.*, 1888, p. 168) as Zeus, following Dr. Imhoof-Blumer (*Monatsb. d. k. preuss. Akad.*, 1881, p. 667). Dr. Head (*Num. Chron.*, 1888, p. 175) accepted this interpretation, but in his *Hist. Num.*, p. 188, amends it to "Poseidôn (or Zeus)."

other than the "Earth-shaker," as, indeed, we should naturally expect in a coin-type of a city standing on the brink of the watery gulf which Poseidôn himself had rent between it and the Italian mainland.²³ On some bronze coins of Poseidônia,²⁴ struck towards the close of the fifth century, Poseidôn appears in precisely the same aspect as on the Zanklœan tetradrachm brandishing a thunderbolt in the place of a trident. Add to this fact that the rendering of the hair and beard on both the late Poseidônian and the Zanklœan type assume a naturalistic character which itself indicates a certain approximation of date. We have here reached a decidedly later style of artistic evolution than that represented, for example, on the transitional heads of Dionysos that appear on the coins of Naxos from about 461 B.C.

The same general resemblance is presented by the figure of Apollo on the coins of Kaulônia, also belonging to the second half of the fifth century. And in this case we are enabled to carry the parallel still further. On the tetradrachm of Zanklè there is seen in front of the god a curiously-formed altar, with a kind of upper cushion or entablature incurved at the sides, and adorned with palmettes. This type of altar, otherwise unknown, recurs in a very similar form—except that palmettes are here

²³ Hence the derivation of the opposite Rhêgion—ἀνομάσθη δὲ Ρήγιον . . . ὡς φῆσιν Αἰσχύλος διὰ τὸ συγμβὰν πάθος τῆς χώρας ταύτης . ἀπορραγῆναι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου τὴν Σικελίαν ὑπὸ σεισμῶν (Strabo vi. 1, 6).

²⁴ In the B. M. Catalogue, Nos. 63, 64, Poseidôn is wrongly described as holding a trident. Garrucci, however (*Monete d'Italia*, II. Tav. CXXI. 81, 82), rightly describes the types (p. 178): "Nettuno qual Giove fulminante." The identification with Poseidôn is clear from the inscription, ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑ[N], and the dolphin opposite the figure.

seen rising from its upper corners—in front of the traditional Apollo (whose pose is here less free than that of the Zanklæan Poseidōn on a didrachm of Kaulōnia, Pl. VIII. Fig. 8),²⁵ which comes somewhat late in the issues of that city. The parallelism is here too complete to be the result of accident, and here, too, we must therefore assume some approximation of date. But the Kaulōniate piece presents certain points of agreement with features on the coins of other Italiot cities which allow us to fix its date within near limits. The bird, especially, with uplifted wings, perched sideways on the fountain, seen upon the reverse of this coin, bears a striking family likeness to similar profile views of fluttering birds seen on early coins of Thurii, struck about 430 b.c.,²⁶ and on contemporary coins of Terina, upon which is also found the parallel subject of a water-bird upon a basin.²⁷ The local and somewhat old-fashioned traditions of Kaulōniate monetary art, make it probable that the didrachm in question was not much, if at all, anterior to the Thurian and Terinæan pieces with these common features. Whether the altar standing before the figure of Poseidōn, on the tetradrachm of Zanklē, suggested the introduction of a similar feature before the figure of Apollo on the didrachm of Kaulōnia, or whether the converse was the case, it is probable that both coins were more or less contemporary. The occurrence of the **D** on the coin of Zanklē might, taken by itself, be thought to imply an earlier date. But

²⁵ In my collection.

²⁶ In both cases these features are frequently associated with the work of the artist Φ , on the date of whose activity at Thurii see below, pp. 139, 140.

²⁷ Garrucci, *Monete d'Italia*, II. Tav CXVII. 5. *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Ser., vol. iii. (1883), Pl. XI. 3.

as is shown by a coin with the inscription **MESSEANION**, exhibiting **D** in the field,²⁸ this letter-form survived into the Messanian period of the city, and on the occasion of the revival of a coinage in the name of the Zanklæans, the old orthography may have been deliberately adhered to. In any case this epigraphic detail cannot weigh against the pronouncedly advanced style of the art on this coin, and its curious approximation in an otherwise unique feature of the design to a late Kaulōniate type. The tendency of this evidence is to bring down the date of its issue, and probably also that of the litra above described, certainly after 461, and probably to about 440 B.C. We may, therefore, infer that in this city of nicely balanced factions and perpetual revolutions, a turn of the wheel about that time gave the old Zanklæan element once more for a moment the upper hand. So far as historical records are concerned, Messanian history is a blank from 461 B.C. to 427, the date of the first Athenian expedition.

That the old Zanklæan element maintained to the last its separate entity, whether as a powerful faction within the walls of Messana, or as exiles outside its dominions, appears from a curious notice preserved by Strabo. According to the geographer, Tauromenion owed its foundation to "the Zanklæans in Hybla."²⁹ This account can hardly refer either to the first settlement by Himilkón of Sikels on the height of Taurus in 397, or to the later plantation there by Dionysios of a military colony of his chosen mercenaries in 392. It more probably connects itself

²⁸ *Num. Chron.*, 1894, p. 215.

²⁹ *Geogr.* vi. 2, 3. Καράνη δέστι Ναξιών κτίσμα, Ταυρομένιον δὲ τῶν ἐν Ὑβλῃ Ζαγκλαίων.

with the re-foundation of Tauromenion by Andromachos, about the middle of the fourth century B.C., who, together with the Naxian refugees that he now settled there,³⁰ may have added yet another Chalkidian element in the shape of the Zanklæan exiles living in Hybla.³¹ By this Hybla we must in all probability understand the Geleatic Hybla on the neighbouring heights of Etna.³²

4.—ON SOME MONETARY RECORDS OF THE ALLIANCE OF
425 B.C., BETWEEN MESSANA AND SYRACUSE, AND
A NEW ENGRAVER'S SIGNATURE ON A COIN OF
MESSANA.

The more minutely Sicilian and Magna-Græcian coins are studied, the more evident it becomes that certain symbols, as well as subsidiary variations of the types, bear distinct, though allusive, reference to historic episodes. To take a well-known instance from the earlier coinage of Syracuse, the *pistrix* or sea-monster which appears in the exergue of a whole group of transitional coins, in all probability owes its introduction—as Dr. Head³³ long ago pointed out—to a desire to commemorate the sea-victory of

³⁰ Diod. xvi. 7. Cf. Freeman, *Sicily*, iv., p. 287.

³¹ Holm (*Geschichte Siciliens*, ii., pp. 437, 488) supposes that the "Zanklæans in Hybla" had taken refuge there at the time of Himilkön's capture of Messana. This seems the most simple explanation.

³² Pais indeed (*Storia della Sicilia e della Magna Grecia*, vol. i., p. 592 *seqq.*) has a new combination, but, in this case, hardly a happy one. He would see in Tauromenion the Tauros near Megara Hyblæa, now Cape Xifonio, and would bring the Zanklæans from this more southern Hybla, which, according to his theory, was occupied by them before the Megarian settlement there.

³³ *Coinage of Syracuse*, pp. 9, 10.

Hierón over the Etruscans off Cumæ, in 474 B.C. The appearance, at a somewhat earlier date, of a lion in the same position on contemporary coins of Syracuse and Leontini, has a no less undoubted reference to the great victory of Gelón at Himera, and at the same time illustrates the position of subject alliance in which Leontini stood. It may also be suggested that the appearance of a Skylla, pursuing a fish in the exergual space of certain Syracusan tetradrachms, signed by the artist Euth... who, on these pieces, is found as a collaborator of Eumenès and Phrygillos,³⁴ contains a direct allusion to the naval success of the Syracusans and their allies over the Athenians in 425 B.C. In each of two encounters fought in the Straits opposite Pelōris and Messana—in the very waters of the fabled monster—the Athenians lost a ship.³⁵ Although the affair was itself a small one, this first success of the Syracusans over the Athenians on their own element may well have caused considerable elation.³⁶

Analogy such as the above, and especially the last allusion to the Athenian naval operations of 425, throw a suggestive light on the appearance, about this very time, of two parallel groups of Syracusan and Messanian coins, bearing in the exergue beneath the chariot in either case the same maritime badge of two dolphins symmetrically fronting each other with their heads downwards.

³⁴ See *Syr. Med.*, p. 60 *seqq.* It is there pointed out that the head by Phrygillos in this collaboration represents his earliest work, and, therefore, belongs (*cf. op. cit.*, p. 72 and note) to the period before the Athenian siege.

³⁵ Thuc. iv. 25, 1—5.

³⁶ Cf. Freeman, *Sicily*, iii., 41: "The Syracusans, evidently well pleased at their first brush with Athens on her own element, went back to their quarters in the sheltered Messanian haven."

The Syracusan coins on which this device appears are the later works of Eumenê³⁷ in one case associated with an obverse by Sôsiôn,³⁸ and the earliest of Evænetos.³⁹ In particular, it is associated with the early masterpieces of Evænetos, on which Nikê is seen bearing a suspended tablet with that artist's name. The date of this coin, as I have shown elsewhere, can be approximately referred by a variety of numismatic evidence to about 425 B.C.⁴⁰

It is about the same date that the same double symbol of the two dolphins makes its appearance on a group of Messanian tetradrachms. This is shown by the fact that in style and epigraphy⁴¹ these coins are slightly earlier than those struck at this city with the signature of the engraver Kimôn. But Kimôn's Messanian work⁴² itself represents a somewhat earlier stage of his activity than that illustrated by his famous Syracusan dies, executed from 412 onwards.

The chronology thus arrived at for both the Messanian and Syracusan group of coins with the double dolphin

³⁷ With the signature **EY** on the obverse and reverse. In my own collection.

³⁸ *B. M. Cat.*, p. 167, No. 154.

³⁹ *B. M. Cat.*, p. 168, Nos. 148—150, associated with obverse heads signed **EYMEWOY**, and p. 170, Nos. 166, 167 (drachms).

⁴⁰ *Syracusan Medallions*, pp. 58, 59, 85.

⁴¹ On these coins the inscription is still **MEΣΣΑΝΙΟΝ** (sometimes reversed). On the Messanian coin with Kimôn's authenticated signature it is already **ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ**. On the other piece exhibiting the head of Pelôrias, and doubtfully attributed by me to this artist, we find a mixed usage. See *Some New Artists' Signatures on Sicilian Coins*, *Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 299.

⁴² *Syracusan Medallions*, p. 77, and pp. 187, 188 (*Some New Artists' Signatures on Sicilian Coins*).

badge, agrees in an extraordinary way with the historic record of the alliance at this time concluded between the two cities. As already stated,⁴³ the most characteristic of the Syracusan tetradrachms with these symbols—the earliest signed work, namely, of the monetary artist Evænetos—has been already referred, on altogether independent grounds, to the approximate date 425 B.C. But it was in this very year that Messana, which had for a time yielded to Athenian direction, revolted from Athens, and entered into alliance with Syracuse and Lokri. The great importance at that time attached by the Syracusans to the Messanian alliance is clearly brought out by Thucydides. They fully appreciated the fact that Messana was the key of Sicily, and that its possession by the invaders opened an avenue of attack upon their own territories on a greater scale than would otherwise be feasible.⁴⁴ The first-fruits of the new *symmachia* was the naval success in the Straits, of which record has been sought above in the exergual design of Skylla pursuing a fish upon a Syracusan coin-type which must be regarded as the contemporary of those with which we are dealing. In the simultaneous appearance of the double dolphin badge on the coins of Syracuse and Messana, struck from about 425 B.C., we may venture to see an allusion to the maritime alliance now concluded between the two cities. The dolphin itself had formed the central feature of the earliest types of Zanklē, and as a subsidiary element of the design, it had also symbolized the sea-girt might of Syracuse

⁴³ See above, p. 119.

⁴⁴ Thuc. iv. 1, 1: ὅτι Συρακόσιοι ὥρωντες προσβολὴν ἔχον τὸ χωρίον τῆς Σικελίας, καὶ φοβούμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ λέγειν αὐτοῦ ὅρμῶμενοί ποτε σφίσι μείζονι παρασκευῇ ἐπέλθωσιν. Cf. Freeman, Sicily, iv., pp. 39, 40.

herself upon her coinage. The alliance between the two cities could hardly be recorded in a more speaking manner than by the heraldic conjunction of the two dolphins, as seen on these two parallel groups of coins. The active alliance between Messana and Syracuse seems to have been confined to the years 425—424; but in a more dormant form it may well have survived the conclusion of peace with Athens in the latter year, and even the temporary union of Messana and Lokri. The alliance symbol on the coinage may thus have gone on for some years, just as the earlier historic badge on the Syracusan coins commemorating Hierón's sea-victory off Cumæ seems to have survived awhile the fall of the Deinomenid dynasty. At the time of the great Athenian expedition of 415 B.C., there would, however, have been pressing reasons for omitting such an outward token of community with Syracuse, as being inconsistent with the attitude of severe neutrality at that time taken up by Messana. It seems probable, for these reasons, that the issue of the types with the double dolphin badge at Messana was confined to the period 425—415 B.C.

The Messanian types on which the confronted dolphins appear as the exergual badge beneath the mule-chariot exhibit below the hare, on the other side of the coin, the following symbols:—

A dolphin r.⁴⁵

A dolphin, with waves below.⁴⁶

A sea-horse l.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ B. M. Cat., p. 103, Nos. 36, 89—48; p. 104, No. 48; Cat. del Mus. di Napoli, Nos. 4577, 4580—82.

⁴⁶ B. M. Cat., 105, No. 55. The obverse of this coin is from a later die (see below).

⁴⁷ B. M. Cat., p. 104, No. 52; Cat. del Mus. di Nap., Nos. 4585—86.

The head of Pan, bare, and a Syrinx.⁴⁸
 The head of Pan, in a somewhat more advanced style,
 diademed.⁴⁹
 Bird with expanded wings ; below, ear of barley.⁵⁰
 Three ears of corn on a stem.⁵¹
 Locust feeding on bunch of grapes and leaf.⁵²
 Cockle-shell.⁵³

To these must be added the interesting type representing on the obverse the seated Pan caressing a hare.⁵⁴

The obverse inscription is **ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ** or, retrograde, **ΝΟΙΝ ΑΞΞΕΜ**; in one case only, the reverse showing the biga of mules and the double dolphin badge, is associated with a later obverse die, in which the inscription appears as **ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ**.⁵⁵ Some of the reverse types bear the legend **ΜΕΣΣΑΝΑ** or **ΑΝΑΞΞΕΜ**.⁵⁶

To the above types of this group may be now added the following coin, which is of exceptional interest, both as bearing a new artist's signature and as exhibiting a hitherto unrecorded form of civic epigraphy :—

⁴⁸ *B. M. Cat.*, p. 104, No. 50.

⁴⁹ *Ib.*, p. 104, No. 49.

⁵⁰ *Ib.*, p. 104, No. 46. *Cat. del Mus. di Nap.*, Nos. 4589—90. The bird is described as an eagle, but is probably a dove. See below, p. 124.

⁵¹ *Cat. del Mus. di Nap.*, No. 4587.

⁵² *B. M. Cat.*, p. 104, No. 45. In the *Cat. del Museo di Napoli*, under No. 4584, mention is made of a "locusta marina."

⁵³ Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques*, p. 22, No. 38 (Vienna Museum).

⁵⁴ Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.*, Pl. B. 5, pp. 21, 22. The reverse of this is from the same die as the last-mentioned piece, with cockle-shell symbol beneath the hare.

⁵⁵ *B. M. Cat.*, p. 105, No. 55.

⁵⁶ *Ib.*

Obv.—**MΕΣΣΑΝΙΟΣ.** Hare running l.; beneath, ear of barley with leaves l.; in field above, a flying dove seen sideways, and immediately in front of it, in minute letters, ANAN.

Rev.—Biga of mules driven by female charioteer (Messana) draped in long chiton, and holding goad and reins. In exergue, two dolphins confronted, with their heads downwards [Pl. VIII. Fig. 9.]

The inscription **MΕΣΣΑΝΙΟΣ**, of which this is the only example on a Messanian coin, belongs to a class very characteristic of the coins of Late Transitional and immediately succeeding styles at Syracuse, Katanē, Leontini, Selinūs, and other cities like Rhēgion and Taras on the Italian side of the Straits. Whether such words as *τετράδραχμος* or *Δῆμος* should in this and similar cases be understood remains an open question, but I have elsewhere ventured to suggest⁵⁷ that this epigraphic fashion owed its prevalence to a certain confusion due to the incipient adoption by other cities of the Ionic letter forms Ω and Η. During the early stage of this innovation, as shown by several examples, no general rule had been adopted as to the signification of the new forms, and Ω was consequently often used to represent *Omicron* and Η as *Epsilon*. In civic names, the judicious use of the singular adjective form avoided a decision on what was still a moot point of spelling. In the present instance this transitional usage fits in well with the period assigned to the group of coins to which the above type belongs.

The bird above the hare is clearly a dove,⁵⁸ resembling

⁵⁷ *Syracusan Medallions*, pp. 59, 60.

⁵⁸ It is rightly described as a dove in the catalogue of the Boyne collection (No. 119), from which the present piece passed into my hands.

some on the coins of Sikyon ; the beak, wings, tail, and general softness of outline entirely preclude its identification with any form of eagle. It becomes probable, therefore, that the bird seen flying with expanded wings on a closely allied Messanian type is also intended to represent a dove, though it has been described as an eagle.⁵⁹

There can, I think, be little doubt that the minute signature in front of the dove reads ANAN,⁶⁰ and the name, when complete, may therefore be identical with that of the sixth-century Iambic poet *Ananios*. The name is new among the engravers of Sicilian dies.

5.—ON A FOURTH-CENTURY LITRA OF THE HYBLEAN MEGARA.

No numismatic record of the Sicilian Megara belonging to the autonomous Greek periods of its intermittent history has been hitherto known, though a small bronze trias exists of the period that succeeded the Roman Conquest in 210 B.C. Of its stronghold Stiela, a few rare silver pieces exist of the last half of the fifth century. But the older Megara itself did not survive into coin-striking times. It would be wrong, perhaps, to infer from this that the original city, founded as early as 728 B.C., in the neighbourhood of the midmost of the Sikel Hyblas,

⁵⁹ B. M. Cat., p. 104, No. 46. "ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ. Hare running l. ; beneath, ear of barley l. with leaves ; above, eagle flying l." Catalogo del Museo Nazionale di Napoli, No. 4589—90. "ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ lepre corrente a sin. ; sopra aquila con ali aperti, sotto spiga." The inscription on examples known to me is ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ.

⁶⁰ The author of the *Boyne Catalogue* read it ΑΝΑΛ, but there is certainly a final up-stroke to the last letter.

had not enjoyed a flourishing period of existence. Its great colony of Selinūs, sent out a century later, would alone disprove this. The fine remains of its walls, stretching along the edge of the plateau between its two streams, and the rich store of black figured vases from its tombs, recently explored by Professor Orsi,⁶¹ show that the Hyblæan Megara had attained a very considerable place among the Sicilian cities before the time of its overthrow by its Syracusan neighbours. It does not appear that even Hippokratēs of Gela, who extended his dominions to the Straits, was ever able to subdue this city.

But the "fat" nobles of Megara, as Herodotos⁶² calls them—coupling them thus with the Hippobotæ of Chalkis—ventured to provoke a more redoubtable enemy. In 483 B.C., Gelōn of Syracuse stormed the Megarian stronghold of Stiela, and having forced the city to surrender, sold the commons as slaves out of Sicily, and transplanted the aristocracy to Syracuse, where he incorporated them in the body of citizens. Megara was thus deserted, and the early date of this catastrophe itself goes far to explain the absence of coins. The coinage of more than one important Sicilian city begins only slightly earlier or even later than this date. Had Leontini and Katanē been overthrown at the same time, no coins of those great cities would have been known.⁶³

Even as it befell, its stronghold, Stiela, had by the middle of the fifth century recovered sufficient importance to

⁶¹ *Megara Hyblæa, Storia topografia necropoli e anathemati*, per Fr. Sav. Cavallari e Paolo Orsi, Roma, 1892.

⁶² vii. 156: *τοὺς παχέας*. Cf. v. 77.

⁶³ The earliest coins of Leontini bear reverse types similar to those of the Syracusan "Dámareteia" struck in 479. (See *Num. Chron.*, 1894, p. 214.) No Katanean coins seem quite so early.

strike coins in its own name. These are apparently litras bearing on the obverse the legend ΣΤΙΕΒΑΒΑΙΟ[Ν], and the forepart a man-headed bull — the river Alabōn — while the reverse shows a youthful River-God holding a slender tree in his hand — perhaps a willow — and offering a libation at an altar, in much the same way as the Selinūs on the coins of the daughter-city.⁶⁴ A little later appear drachms and hēmidrachms,⁶⁵ with the head of the young River-God and a branch in front, and on the reverse the forepart of a man-headed bull, here represented walking (Plate IX. Fig. 1).

Although thus during the last half of the fifth century Stiela stood forth as a local representative of the Hyblæan Megara, Megara itself remained deserted. It was indeed on the very ground of its being unoccupied, that at the time of the Athenian expedition Lamachos proposed Megara as a station for the fleet and a base of operations against Syraeuse.⁶⁶ This action was anticipated, however, by the Syracusans, who in 415 B.C., themselves sent a garrison to Megara,⁶⁷ and it is to this event that the partial

⁶⁴ Avellino, *Opuscoli Dirersi*, iii., p. 157 *seqq.*, Tav. VII. 12. The weight is not given, but from the module it may be inferred that the coin was a litra. The river-god sacrificing with the tree in his hand may be compared with a similar type on a slightly later litra of Leontini. The sacred trees of Sicilian River-Gods would be naturally such as grow on the banks of rivers. After the final victory of the Syracusans over the Athenians at the Assinaros, the trophies of the conquerors were suspended on the tallest trees by the river, in whose name the memorial games were forthwith instituted. — Plut. *Nikias*, cxxvii. 8.

⁶⁵ B. M. Cat., *Sicily*, p. 144.

⁶⁶ Thuc. vi. 49. ναύστριθμον . . . Μέγαρο ἔφη χρῆναι ποιεῖσθαι, ἀ η ἔρημα.

⁶⁷ Thuc. vi. 75. In c. 94 of the same book, Thucydides speaks of the Athenians landing at or near Megara and attack-

restoration of Megara as a centre of civic life may probably be traced. Towards the end of the fourth century it is spoken of as a *πόλις*. In 309 B.C., at a time when Syracuse was besieged by the Carthaginians, the Syracusan triremes, which had eluded the blockade in order to convoy some corn ships for the relief of the city, were attacked by the enemies' cruisers off Megara, and forced to make for the shore at a spot where stood a temple of Héra. The Carthaginians succeeded in dragging off and capturing ten triremes, but the others, says Diodóros, were saved by the arrival of "reinforcements from the city," which can here only mean the neighbouring Megara.⁶⁸

It is probable that the small silver piece procured by me at Syracuse belongs to the period between the erection of a fortified post at Megara by the Syracusans in 415 B.C., and the first historic reference to it as once more a city in 309.

Obr.—Female head to r., from the back of which what may be either interpreted as a veil or as somewhat shaggy hair, falls down behind the neck. In front of the head is a small female figure, nude, and raising the left fore-arm.

Rev.—ΜΕΓΑ. Bull with a bearded, human face, standing r.; the face turned towards the spectator.

Weight, 0·66 grammes (10·4 granius).

[Pl. IX. Fig. 2.]

Owing to its condition the coin is below normal weight, and should therefore be regarded as a litra. The small denomination of this silver piece must itself be regarded

ing a certain Syracusan stronghold (*ἐρυμά τι τῶν Συρακοσίων*) probably a refortified part of Megara itself. Cf. Schubring, *Umwandlung des Megarischen Meerbusens*, p. 456.

⁶⁸ Diod. xx. 32. Cf. Schubring, *op. cit.* p. 457; Orsi, *Megara Hyblaea*, p. 15, and my own note in Freeman, *Sicily*, iii. p. 439.

as *à priori* evidence of a comparatively early date. As a general rule litras and obols of silver were given up by the Sicilian cities at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century B.C., in favour of bronze coins, some of which have now an appreciable weight. There are, indeed, exceptions to this rule, such as the silver litras of Hierôn II.'s time, and some more or less contemporary pieces of Tauromenion. But the style of these would alone proclaim their late date.

In the present case, although the Megarean piece is unquestionably later than those struck in the name of Stiela, it does not appear to be later than the first half of the fourth century. The attitude of the bull, except that the head is facing, recalls that of some of the latest coins of the third Sybaris.⁶⁹ It is probable that the bull here, as on the earlier coins of Stiela, refers to the river Alabôn, now the Cantera. The female head on the obverse doubtless represents a local divinity, but the blurred condition of the design prevents us from arriving at any certain conclusion. The *trias* of the Roman period throws no light on this earlier coinage. It presents a head of Pallas, and on the reverse a bee,⁷⁰ referring to the celebrated honey from the neighbouring slopes of Hybla.

6.—AN ALLIANCE COIN OF LEONTINI AND KATANÈ.

A remarkable alliance-piece of Leontini and Katanè, to be described below, affords a fresh illustration of the close bonds that knit together these two Chalkidian cities, and, at the same time, a new fixed point for the chronology

⁶⁹ Garrucci, *Le Monete dell' Italia Antica*, II. Tav. CVIII. 24.

⁷⁰ B. M. Cat., Sicily, p. 96; Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 182.

both of the Sicilian and Magna-Græcian coin-types. Already in the adoption by both cities of the laureate head of Apollo for the obverse type of their tetradrachms, which became a fixed rule early in the second half of the fifth century,⁷¹ we may trace a monetary convention, whether formal or complimentary, between the two cities.

The resemblance in many cases extends to style, and we are justified in believing that the same engraver was not unfrequently employed by both mints. An illustration of this may be seen in the two coins reproduced on Pl. IX. Figs. 3 and 4. The Katanæan piece is perhaps slightly the earlier, but both agree in their characteristic expression of the god's face, which on these and other examples is curiously suggestive of some Italian Renaissance heads of the late Quattrocento or early Cinquecento. The Leontine coin, with its naturalistic vine-spray, has good claims to be regarded as representing the last tetradrachm issue of that city, and belongs to the days of the fatal war with Syracuse, which induced Leontini to call in Athenian help. Besides the favourable hearing which the orator Gorgias succeeded in obtaining from the great Ionian city, and which resulted in the first Athenian expedition to Sicily of 427 B.C., the Leontines had the assistance of the other Chalkidian cities, of Rhēgion beyond the Straits, in Sicily itself, of Katanē and Naxos. In this connexion it is a noteworthy fact that the vine symbol behind Apollo's head on the Leontine coin, which has nothing to do with that god, is an almost exact reproduction of the vine that appears beside the squatting Seilēnos on the contem-

⁷¹ In the Villabate hoard, deposited about 450 B.C., the Apollo's head type is conspicuous by its absence (see *Num. Chron.*, Ser. iii., vol. xiv., p. 215).

porary coins of Naxos. This late tetradrachm of Leontini, which thus in every way speaks of the Chalkidian alliance, cannot have been issued later than 423 B.C. In that year, as a consequence of internal dissensions, Leontini was merged in Syracuse, and though a part of its transplanted citizens subsequently established themselves for a while in an outlying stronghold, the coinage of the Leontines now shows a considerable break.

At Katanê the Apollo type, though it henceforth alternates with the head of the young River-God Amenanos, shows a continuous evolution, and the cessation of the parallel Leontine coinage enables us to refer these later Katanæan coins to the period which intervened between the Syracusan absorption of Leontini in 423 and 402 B.C. the date of the overthrow of Katanê itself at the hands of Dionysios. Among the earliest of these Katanæan types may be reckoned the tetradrachm now for the first time reproduced in Pl. IX. Fig. 5:—⁷²

Olv.—KATANAION. Head of Apollo laureate l., to r. laurel leaf and berry. The head is on a larger scale than that of any other coins of this class.

Rer.— Walking quadriga r., driven by male charioteer. Above, winged Nike flying r., and holding out wreath to crown horse's head. In exergue, winged thunderbolt.

The form of the thunderbolt symbol on the reverse of this coin, with its expanded wings, shows a close correspondence with that on a small bronze *trias* of Katanê, bearing on its obverse the young head of the River-God

⁷² The symbol on the reverse is given by Salinas, *Le Monete delle Antiche Città di Sicilia*, Tav. XIX. 4, but the tetradrachm with which it is there connected is of a very different style.

Amenanos,⁷³ and which may be referred to the same approximate date as the tetradrachms.

In beauty and delicacy of workmanship the youthful head on this coin may be considered to surpass every other product of the Katanæan mint, not excepting the famous tetradrachm with the Delphic fillet, bearing the signature of Evænetos, and struck about the date of the Athenian siege of Syracuse.⁷⁴ The somewhat earlier drachms by the same artist with the head of Amenanos, and certain tetradrachms,—some with the laureate head of Apollo,⁷⁵ in a style closely approaching that now figured, others with the bare or diademed head of the youthful River-God,⁷⁶—serve at Katanæ to bridge over the period between the fall of Leontini and the triumph of Syracuse over the Athenians. Next follow the still more advanced facing heads of the Apollo by Hērakleidas and Choirion, which have been rightly referred to the years immediately preceding the capture of the city by Dionysios.

The alliance coin—a hēmidrachm—to which attention is now called, belongs to this later period. In style the laureate head of Apollo on its obverse shows a distinct advance on the latest tetradrachms of Leontini. The letter forms are also more advanced and Ω replaces Ο. It represents a new coinage after a considerable break.

⁷³ On the above example, found at Catania, the three pellets on the reverse which indicate its value, are clearly visible. The type is referred to in the *B. M. Cat., Sicily*, p. 50, No. 51, 52, without this indication.

⁷⁴ See my *Syracusian Medallions*, p. 88 (*Num. Chron.*, 1891, p. 292).

⁷⁵ Salinas, *Monete di Sicilia*, Tav. XIX. 2, 9, 15; *B. M. Cat., Sicily*, p. 44 *seqq.*, Nos. 24, 25, 30.

⁷⁶ Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques*, p. 16, Pl. A. 17, 18; Salinas, *Monete di Sicilia*, Tav. IX. 13, 14; *B. M. Cat. Sicily*, pp. 45, 46, Nos. 27—29.

The following is a description of this interesting coin, which was bought by me at the Ashburnham sale.

Obv.—ΑΕ ΟΝ. Laureate head of Apollo l., the wreath so arranged that the two ends meet, not above the centre of forehead, but above the right corner of the eye. In front, laurel-leaf and berry.

Rev.—ΚΑΤΑΝΑΙΩΝ. Butting bull to r.; (the river Symethos); in exergue, fish.

Weight, 1.94 grammes (30 grains).

[Pl. IX. Fig. 7, and Pl. X., enlarged.]

A hēmidrachm of the same type had already been obtained by me some years since at Catania, but owing to the bad condition of the obverse side, I had been unable to read the legend, and had set it down as a new variety of Katanæan coin. Its weight is 1.60 grammes, or about 25 grains.

The great importance of this alliance-piece is, that the historical conditions allow us to fix its date within very narrow chronological limits. Style and epigraphy forbid us to refer it to the earlier period of active alliance between Leontini and Katanē, dating from the time of the first Athenian expedition of 427 B.C., and the immediately succeeding years. In 423 B.C. Leontini, as already observed, was merged in Syracuse, and her coinage breaks off. But in 405 B.C., the policy of the victorious Carthaginians restored and guaranteed the independence of Leontini by the treaty of Gela, thus setting a limit to the dominion of Dionysios on this side. Since the sister Chalkidian foundations, Katanē and Naxos, were not included in the terms of peace, and Dionysios might naturally profit by this circumstance to pay off, as he shortly did, old scores; it was obviously to their advantage to enter into a close alliance with the resuscitated

Leontines, whose numbers were swollen by the refugees from Gela and Kamarina, and who now enjoyed Carthaginian protection. When, in 404 B.C., Dionysios broke his treaty with Carthage, this need became imperative on both sides. The operations of the Syracusan tyrant were delayed awhile by the revolt of his own troops, but in 402 B.C., having settled his domestic difficulties, he attacked and overthrew the three Chalkidian cities⁷⁷ that stood in the way of his westward expansion. Naxos was betrayed and destroyed, Katanē given over to Campanian mercenaries, and the Leontines transplanted to Syracuse.

The alliance between Leontini and Katanē, recorded by the present coin, must certainly have been concluded in 404 B.C., and it is to that date that we may with confidence refer the hemidrachm. For a later alliance between the two Chalkidian cities history leaves no room.

From the style of the coin, and especially the approximation of the bull to that on the reverse of a contemporary litra of Katanē⁷⁸ (Pl. IX. Fig. 6), we may infer that the alliance-piece was executed by an engraver of that city. The break in the civic history of Leontini, extending from 423 to 450 B.C., had necessarily interrupted its monetary traditions. But at Katanē the engraver's art had continuously flourished, and we find at this time three skilful

⁷⁷ Diod. xiv. 14. Διονίσιος ὁ τῶν Συρακοσιῶν τύραννος ἐπειδὴ τὴν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους ἐμρήνην ἐποιήσατο τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν στάσεων ἀπῆλλακτο τάς δύμόρους τῶν χαλκιδίων πόλεις ἐσπευδεὶς προσαγαγέσθαι, αὗται δ' ἦσαν Νάξος, Κατάνη, Λεοντίνοι. As Mr. Freeman observes (*Sicily*, vol. iii. p. 29, note 1), Dionysios does not notice "the wholly different position in which Leontini stood to the other two."

⁷⁸ B. M. Cat., *Sicily*, p. 50, No. 49. "Obv.—Head of Nymph l., wearing sphendone; border of dots. Rev.—ΚΑΤΑΝΑΙΩΝ. Bull butting r.; in ex., crayfish r."

artists, Hērakleidas, Proklēs, and Choiρiōn engaged upon its dies.

Small as the present piece is, it must be regarded as a masterpiece of the engraver's skill, and may compare with the finest contemporary productions of the Katanæan mint. The work is of gemlike fineness, and the minute fidelity of the execution can best be realised by the phototype on Pl. X., which is enlarged to five diameters.

To which of the above engravers can it with the greatest probability be ascribed?

The balance of evidence inclines strongly in favour of Hērakleidas. It is true that the profile rendering of the head of Apollo on the present hēmidrachm makes it difficult to institute an exact comparison with the facing heads of the same god that appear on the more advanced tetradrachms by Hērakleidas.⁷⁹ But the general richness of detail in the head of Apollo, and the waving curls observable above his forehead and in front of his ears, are quite in keeping with that engraver's style. There is, however, one small artifice of arrangement about the wreath which betrays a more special kind of conformity. It has been noticed in the above description of the coin, that the two ends of the bay-wreath are not represented in the usual manner as meeting above the centre of the forehead, but one end is brought round so that the meeting-point is above the outer corner of the left eye. This

⁷⁹ Weil, *Die Künstlerinschriften der Sicilischen Münzen*, Taf. III. 1; Salinas, *Le Monete della Antiche città di Sicilia*, Tav. XIX. 17, 20; B. M. Cat., *Sicily*, p. 47, Nos. 32, 33. Imhoof-Blumer (*Monnaies Grecques*, pp. 16, 17, Pl. A, Nos. 17, 18) has also rightly ascribed to this engraver the tetradrachms presenting the head of the youthful River-God Amenanos, some of which are signed **H** on the exergue of the reverse.

picturesque and singular method of disposing the wreath reevers again on the facing heads of Hērakleidas' tetradrachms in contradistinction to the evenly-balanced sprays of the fellow-designs by Choiriōn, and it is otherwise unknown on the Katanæan dies.

Equally peculiar to our hēmidrachm on the one hand, and to the tetradrachms of Hērakleidas on the other, is the appearance of a fish in the exergual space of the reverse. The same river-fish had already appeared at an earlier period of the Katanæan coinage, and the man-headed bull is later seen in connexion with the head of Amenanos. In the present case, however, as in that of the earlier series with the bearded bull, the personified River-God cannot be intended to portray the little local brook of Katanē, so fitly represented by the boyish heads on the coins. Apart from the total inappropriateness of such a design as a bearded or butting bull to indicate the infant trickle of Amenanos, the type on the reverse of this alliance-coin must naturally be taken to apply, like the head of Apollo on the obverse, to the cult of both cities. It can only refer to the river Symæthos, the boundary stream which divided the territories of Katanē and Leontini.⁸⁰ It watered that richest of Sicilian plains, formerly known as the *Campus Leontinus*, now the *Campo di Catania*.

7.—THE EVOLUTION OF THE SCHEME OF BUTTING BULL ON SICILIAN AND MAGNA-GRÆCIAN COIN-TYPES.

The appearance on the above alliance-coin of Leontini and Katanē, struck in 404 B.C., of the scheme of the

⁸⁰ Thuc. vi. 65.

butting-bull, with its head three-quarters facing the spectator, affords a new landmark for the history of numismatic art. At Katanê itself the same design of the River-God, with a cray-fish in the exergue, recurs on the contemporary litra, which exhibits on its obverse type the head of a Nymph, coifed in a sphendone⁸¹ (Pl. IX. Fig. 6). On the other hand, where the tauriform River-God appears on the latest coins of the other Sicilian cities, struck before the great Carthaginian invasions of 409 and 405 B.C., we still find a profile representation. On the most advanced of the tetradrachm types of Selinus, that, namely, exhibiting the galloping quadriga,⁸² struck shortly before 409 B.C., although the bull which indicates the River-God no longer stands stiffly on his base as upon the earlier coins of this city, and has lowered his head nearly to the ground for butting, he is still seen entirely in profile. On the latest bronze *triantes* of Gela, the side view of the bull does not even show so much advancement, the head being only slightly inclined. It is only on the latter coins, such as the fourth-century bronze pieces of Adranum,⁸³ Tauromenion,⁸⁴ and Syracuse,⁸⁵ that the fully-developed scheme of the butting-bull—the head in this case wholly fronting the spectator—reappears in what had now become the stereotyped form such as it was to descend to Augustus.

It will be seen that in Sicily this type of the *bovis*

⁸¹ B. M. Cat., *Sicily*, p. 50, No. 49. Weight, 11·8 grains.

⁸² B. M. Cat., *Sicily*, p. 142, No. 44.

⁸³ Salinas, *Monete di Sicilia*, Tav. II. 9, 11; B. M. Cat., *Sicily*, p. 8, No. 8. The forepart of the butting bull is also seen at Abacænum. Salinas, *op. cit.*, Tav. II. 3.

⁸⁴ Head, *Coinage of Syracuse*, Pl. VII. A, 4.

⁸⁵ Head, *op. cit.*, Pl. VIII. 9—12.

θούριος first seen on this alliance-piece of Leontini and Katanê and the Katanæan litra, breaks in as a novelty, and its antecedent stages are imperfectly represented. To find these we must turn to the Italian side. On the prolific coinage of Thurii, we can not only trace the gradual evolution of the present scheme, but may discover the source from which, at the close of the fifth century B.C., the type was transferred to the mint of Katanê and Leontini. At the same time the exact chronological data afforded by the alliance-piece before us will be found conversely to supply a new fixed point for the dating of the Thurian series.

Amongst the earliest didrachms of Thurii are certain coins with an archaizing head of Athénê—a reminiscence of Athenian monetary tradition—and with Λ, probably the same as the somewhat later ΛΙΒΥΣ between the animal's forelegs. Upon these earliest types,—struck from about 440 B.C.,—the bull is still seen in profile as if walking, and with his head only slightly bowed, while the tail hangs down behind (Pl. IX. Figs. 8, 9). In the next stage the bull's tail is whisked up over the back, the right foot is raised, and the head, though still in profile, is further lowered, so that the nose almost touches the knee of the left leg, which supports the whole weight of the fore part of the animal (Pl. IX. Fig. 10). By a further development of the schema thus arrived at, the bull's head is now turned three-quarter round towards the spectator (Pl. IX. Fig. 11). It is this type, attained at Thurii by slow gradations, every one of which can be traced on her coinage,—that is reproduced on the alliance-coin of the two Chalkidian cities, except that in this case the tail of the animal still hangs down. The conformity is carried a step further by the appearance in both cases of a fish in the exergue.

Assuming then that this Katanæan and Leontine type of the River-God was derived from the abundant models supplied by the Thurian mint, it becomes evident that the stage of evolution presented by the butting-bull on this alliance-piece had been reached at the Italian city during the years immediately preceding 404 B.C., the date of its issue. In corroboration of this may be cited the appearance of the butting-bull with the three-quarter facing head on the latest coins of Poseidōnia, struck about 400 B.C. At a somewhat later date we find the process of evolution worked out a step further on the Thurian dies, the bull's head being represented in full face (Pl. IX. Fig. 12).

The chronological conclusions arrived at by these comparisons have an interesting bearing on the date of more than one Thurian engraver. The coins signed **IΣΤΟΡΟΣ** belong to the immediately preceding stage, in which the bull's foreleg is raised and the head somewhat lowered, though the whole is seen entirely from the side. Those with the signature **ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΣ** and **ΦΡΥ**, represent the more advanced scheme, as seen on the alliance-coin. On the other hand, the handiwork of the artist Molossos shows a complete gradation from the former to the latter stage of the design (Pl. IX. Figs. 10, 11). It follows, therefore, that his activity belongs to the period immediately preceding the approximate date 404 B.C., and that therefore the signed work of this engraver was executed at about the same time as the masterpieces of the great Sicilian engravers, which exhibit the fully developed style of art.

It may be further observed that this approximate chronology for the Thurian coins signed **ΜΟΛΟΣΣΟΣ**, squares with the evidence of a small find of Magna-Grecian coins seen by me some years since at Naples, and to which I had occasion to refer in my work on the

*Horsemen of Tarentum.*⁸⁶ In this hoard Thurian coins signed by Molossos were associated with coins of Kaulōnia and other cities, struck during the period preceding 388 B.C.

The Thurian comparisons above instituted have a further bearing on the dates of the most remarkable of all the Magna-Grecian engravers, the consummate artist whose signature appears as Φ on coins of Thurii, Hērakleia, Terina, Pandosia, Velia, and Neapolis.⁸⁷ Although on the Thurian coins this signature is confined to the obverse side presenting Athena's head, there can be little doubt that the butting-bull on the reverse is by the same artist. The little bird with expanded wings, introduced below the animal, seems indeed, as was pointed out by Mr. Poole,⁸⁸ to be a reminiscence of the Terinaean types by Φ , on which a fluttering bird of the same kind is seen poised on the forefinger of the seated Nikē. But on the Thurian didrachms by Φ (Pl. IX. Fig. 9), the bull is still of the earlier class. The head, indeed, is more lowered, and the proportions less heavy than on the earliest of all the Thurian coins, such as those bearing the signature Λ , struck about 440 B.C. But the animal is still seen from the side with all four legs to the ground, and his tail hanging down. The type then is earlier than the coins by Molossos, and as three styles of evolution—indicating a somewhat extended period of activity—may be traced in the design of that artist, and the latest of these was

⁸⁶ Pages 41, 42. The Tarentine coins from this hoard belonged to my Second Period of the Horseman type, c. B.C. 420—380.

⁸⁷ See R. S. Poole, *Athenian Coin-Engravers in Italy* (Num. Chron., 3rd Ser., vol. iii. p. 271 *seqq.*).

⁸⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 274. It is much to be regretted that the promised paper (see *op. cit.*, p. 277) on the coinage of Thurii, by this lamented archaeologist, has never seen the light.

extant before 404 B.C., it follows that it would not be safe to bring down the Thurian work of the artist Φ later than the approximate date, 420 B.C. This conclusion agrees with the transitional elements that still linger in the obverse head, and the comparisons it suggests with Syracusean types.

8.—ON AN ALLIANCE-COIN OF WESTERN SICILY, WITH THE ALTAR OF THE KRIMISSOS.

The following highly interesting drachm comes from a collection formed at Palermo. From its style and types there can be little doubt that it is of Sicilian fabric—the obverse type, indeed, approaches in character the myrtle-crowned heads of Sikelia, on coins of Herbessus, Alæsa and other cities, belonging to Timoleon's time.

Obv.—**OMONOIA.** Female head to r. crowned with myrtle wreath, and her back hair loose, wearing ear-ring and necklace.

Rev.—**KIMΙΣΣ** under flaming altar wreathed with laurel, above which, on either side of the fire, are horns or prominences shaped like the forepart of two stags' heads, the antlers of that to the left being partly visible. On either side of the altar are two laurel sprays.

Weight, 1.94 grammes (30 grains). [Pl. IX. Fig. 18.]

Taken in connection with other considerations to be explained below, there can be little doubt that the inscription **KIMΙΣΣ** stands in fact for **KPIMΙΣΣΟΞ**, and that we have to do either with a moneyer's erratum, or what is more probable, with a local, Elymian, version of the river's name, which in its classical Greek form appears as *Krimissos* or *Krimisos*.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Note a similar phenomenon in the dialect of E. Crete. Thus *μικρό* becomes *μικό* (pronounced *michō*).



Stiela.



2



Megara Hyblaea



3



Katana



4



Leontini



5



Katana



6



Katana



7



Katana and Leontini



8



9



10



11



12

Thurii



13



Panormos

Alliance coin of W. Sicily

The resemblance of the head on the obverse to that of the myrtle-crowned Sikelia on coins of Timoleon's time has already been noted. The inscription that accompanies it, however, shows that here the ideal portrait is that of 'Ομόνοια, but its assimilation to the type personifying liberated Sicily is none the less suggestive.

From the style of the work, the treatment of the hair,⁹⁰ with its flowing locks behind, and the form of the Σ, with the upper and lower limbs nearly parallel, the present coin must be referred to a somewhat later date than Timoleon's time, perhaps to the epoch immediately preceding the tyranny of Agathoklēs. It probably belongs to the close of the twenty years' peace that followed Timoleon's death in B.C. 336. But the character of the types still suggests a reference to the peace and concord which he had founded. The coins, apparently struck at Alæsa, at the time of Timoleon's expedition, with the inscription ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΩΝ,⁹¹ refer to the period of active alliance with the Liberator. ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ seems rather to betoken the peaceful alliance between two cities, and is, indeed, the usual indication of the alliance of free cities under the Roman dominion. It is true, that so far as the inscription itself goes, it may be taken simply to refer to concord among the inhabitants of a single city. It is thus, for instance, that by the analogy of other types, we should naturally interpret the inscription ΗΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ, opposite a head personifying Concord on a Metapontine piece

⁹⁰ Compare, for instance, the head of Pelorias on Messanian bronze coins of the period preceding the Mamertine Conquest of 282 B.C.

⁹¹ Head, *Coinage of Syracuse*, p. 38 *seqq.*

of the middle of the fifth century.²² But in the present case, if we are right in supposing that the only local reference of the coin is to the river Krimissos, it is more reasonable to suppose that we have here a common coinage of two or more cities, issued from some local sanctuary connected with a common cult of the River-God. The laurel-crowned altar recalls the wreathed altars of the Hypsas and the Selinūs, nay, that, perhaps, of Krimissos himself, on a tetradrachm of Segesta.²³ It would be the natural meeting-place of a common religion for all borderers of the stream.

What were the cities thus bound together by this common cult? The geographical and mythical connexion in which the Krimissos stood with Segesta²⁴ certainly indicates one of them. In style, indeed, the present piece shows perhaps a closer approach to some fourth-century bronze pieces of Segesta than to any other coin-types.

On the other hand, the fact that the coin was in all probability found near Palermo, suggests that Panormos, always so closely related to Segesta, was another party to this alliance. This conclusion gains considerable weight

²² *B. M. Cat., Italy*, p. 240, No. 59. Compare similar personifications of ΗΥΓΙΕΙΑ and ΝΙΚΑ on coins of Metapontion.

²³ I refer to the magnificent and unique tetradrachm of the De Luynes collection, now in the Cabinet des Médailles, on the obverse of which a Nymph, probably Segesta, is seen sacrificing at a flaming altar with square horns. See the interesting monograph of Salinas, *Sul tipo de' tetradrammi di Segesta* (Florence, 1870), Tav. I. 1, and p. 9 *seqq.* A similar altar occurs on a tetradrachm of Himera signed **MAI. Syr. Medallions**, Pl. X. 2, p. 180 *seqq.* *B. M. Cat., Sicily*, p. 81, No. 48. Weil, *Künstlerinschriften, &c.*, Taf. I. 14. E. Gabrici, *Numismatica dell' Imera*, Tav. VI. 14.

²⁴ Lycophr. 961; Tzetz. *ad loc.*; Verg. *AEn.* v. 88; Serv. *ad AEn.* I. 550; *AEl.* V. H. ii. 88. Dionysios i. 52. Cf. E. H. Bunbury, in *Smith's Dict. of Geogr.* s. v. *Crimisus*.



Leontini and Katanê in alliance.
Hemidrachm enlarged.



from the fact that the later coins of Panormos, struck during the period of Roman suzerainty, which began in 254 B.C., present certain types which have a strong affinity both to the obverse and reverse designs on the present piece. One of these⁹⁵ has the legend **OMONOIA** and the head of Concord, accompanied on the other side with a cornucopiae, and the inscription **ΠΑΝΟΡΜΙΤΑΝ**. Others exhibit on their reverse a square altar with horns⁹⁶ (Pl. IX. Fig. 14) or a round altar, flaming, enclosed within a laurel-wreath.⁹⁷

ARTHUR J. EVANS.

⁹⁵ *Catalogo del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, Medagliere, No. 4,726, 4,727. Mionnet, *Descr. des Médailles grecques* T. I. p. 279, No. 619. The type was wrongly described by Paruta as bearing the legend **OMONIA**. Cf. Eckhel, *D. N.* I. p. 231.

⁹⁶ *B. M. Cat., Sicily*, p. 128, Nos. 17, 18. *Obv.*—**ΠΑΝΟΡΜΙΤΑΝ** and female head in stephanè. Border of dots on both obv. and rev. On another variety, *Cat. di Napoli*, Nos. 4722—23, the obverse is described as “*testa di Cerere coronata di spighe a dr.*”

⁹⁷ *B. M. Cat., Sicily*, p. 128, No. 19. *Obv.*—“*Hermes seated l. on rock holding caduceus; border of dots.*”

IX.

NOTES ON COMBE'S CATALOGUE OF THE HUNTER CABINET.

EVER since its publication in 1782, Combe's *Descriptio* of the Hunterian coins has been regarded as a numismatic work of the first importance, a position which it owes partly to the intrinsic interest of the collection with which it deals, and partly to the care and thought bestowed upon its production. Unfortunately it is far from complete. Following the less scientific arrangement in vogue a century ago, it groups together the Greek coins issued by autonomous peoples and cities, leaving for separate treatment the coins struck at the same places in the names of the various Roman emperors, as well as the coins of the kings, and others which modern methods classify as Greek. Had Hunter lived longer, the scheme outlined by Combe would, in all probability, have been carried out. But his death in 1783 interrupted its progress, and the catalogue remains a fragment. Even in the series which it covers, it does not quite do justice to the collection. For the additions to which allusion is made in the preface have been much more extensive than the language there used would lead one to expect.

Further, in spite of the exceptional care and accuracy with which it was compiled, the existing *Descriptio* contains much that requires to be rectified. The science of

numismatics has made great strides during the past hundred years, and not a little that was dark to Combe and his contemporaries, has been illuminated by the labours of successive generations of scholars. Many of the necessary corrections have already been put on record. In 1870, Friedlaender published a large number in the *Wiener Numismatische Zeitschrift* (pp. 321, ff.); and four years later an even more important list, drawn up by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, appeared in the *Berliner Zeitschrift für Numismatik* (1874, pp. 321, ff.). These articles affect several hundred out of the five or six thousand coins contained in the *Descriptio*. But, full as they are, they are not absolutely exhaustive. Coins that were "uncertain" twenty years ago, can now be definitely attributed. Again, Friedlaender and Imhoof had only the published descriptions and plates to guide them. Other points for correction were sure to emerge when the coins themselves were carefully re-examined with the aid of a modern *instrumentum* like Head's *Historia Numorum*. Such examination it is my privilege to have the opportunity of making. In submitting some of the results, I have thought it well to include such specific corrections as I have found made elsewhere than in the two articles mentioned above. I may add that I hope shortly to have sufficient material to supplement the present list. Many of the coins I have not yet had in my hands at all; and there are others regarding the reading of which I have so far been unable to form a definite opinion. In the following table the first column contains the page in Combe, the second the erroneous attribution or reading, and the third the correction.

Page.	Combe.	Correction.
2	Abydus (Nos. 3 & 4)	Apollonia ad Rhyndacum (<i>Cf. Hist. Num.</i> , p. 447)
16	Aetolia (No. 12) ΑΙΤΩ. ΑΡΣΕΩΝ	Amphissa [Α]ΜΦΙ[Σ] ΣΕΩΝ in two lines, with ΑΡ be- tween them
,,	Alaesa (Nos. 1 & 2) ΑΛΑΙΣΑΣ	Alliba ΑΛΛΙΒ . . .
23	Amphilochia (Nos. 2 & 3, Pl. IV. 18)	Coreyra (<i>Cf. Gardner, B. M. Cat., Thessaly, &c., p. 187, note</i>)
26	Anolus in Lydia (Nos. 1 & 2, Pl. V. 5, 6)	Anopolis in Crete? (Svoronos <i>Rev. Num.</i> , 1888, p. 58)
,,	Antiochia in Caria (Nos. 1 & 2, Pl. V. 7)	Alabanda
37	Apollonia in Illyria (No. 1)	False
44	Argos in Aearnania (Nos. 2 & 3)	Corinth (Letter beneath Pegasus blurred)
58	Athens (Nos. 150 & 151, Pl. X. 26)	Gaza? (<i>Cf. M. Six in Num. Chron.</i> , 1877, p. 221)
62	Athens (No. 212, Pl. XI. 27) ΑΘΕ	Tegea ΤΕΓΕ
,,	Athens (No. 218) ΑΘΗ	Thyrrheium ΟΥΡ
65	Automala (No. 1. Pl. XII. 25) ΑΥΤΩ	Autocane (<i>Monn. grecq.</i> , p. 271) ΑΥΤΟΚ[Α]
67	"Bisaltia" (No. 2) ΒΙΣΑΛΤΙΩΝ	Mosses, King of the Bi- saltæ [Μ]Ο Σ ΣΕ Ω
76	"Caene Insula" (Nos. 1—3)	Alaesa

Page.	Combe.	Correction.
79	Camarina (No. 15, Pl. XIV. 18) reads KAMA . . . in text, and KAMAPIN in plate	Leuce ? I fail to find any inscription in the place indicated in the plate. Above the swan's head are traces of letters that may read Λ[ΕΥΚ]Η
91	Centoripa (No. 4) KENTA	Vibo Valentia [VA]LENTIA
92	Cephalonia (No. 1, Pl. XVI. 28)	Kranii
101	Cnossus (No. 5, Pl. XVIII. 14)	<i>False</i>
102	Cnossus (No. 15)	<i>Copy of Silver</i> (No. 2)
104	Coreyra (No. 2.)	Corone
108	Corinth (No. 11) ♀	Dyrrhachium Δ
114	"Cosa" (Nos. 1 & 2)	Coson, dynast of Thrace
115	"Creta Insula" (No. 2)	<i>Copy of Silver of Praesus</i>
117	Croton (No. 20, Pl. XXII. 18)	Cydonia (<i>Monn. grecq.</i> , p. 214)
120	"Cydon" (Nos. 8—11)	Cnossus
,"	"Cydon" (No. 16) ::AOKEΩN	Laodicea ΛΑΟ[ΔΙ] ΚΕΩΝ in two lines
129	Dyrrhachium (Nos. 1—3)	Coreyra
186	Ephesus (No. 29) No Inscription	Iulis in Ceos [Ι]ΟΥΛΙ on reverse
,"	Ephesus (No. 30) No Inscription	Iulis ? (the head on the obverse is beardless; behind, . . ΥΟ . .)
140	Erythrae (No. 1, Pl. XXVII. 4) EP	Eleutherna ¹ ΞΑ

¹ This attribution was suggested by Mr. Warwick Wroth in *Num. Chron.*, 1884. Mons. J. N. Svoronos (*Numism. de la Crète Ancienne*, p. 187) is strongly inclined to accept it, but says :

Page.	Combe.	Correction.
141	Euboea (No. 7, Pl. XXVII. 9)	Polyrhenion (<i>Monn. grecq.</i> , p. 218)
„	Euboea (No. 10, Pl. XXVII. 10)	Histinaea
	No Inscription	[I]ΣΤΙ (on reverse)
„	Euboea (No. 18)	Sybrita ? (<i>Cf. Svoronos, Num. de la Crète ancienne : Sybrita</i> , No. 14)
	E Y	
143	Falisci (No. 12)	Axos in Crete
149	Heraclea in Acarnania (No. 2, Pl. XXIX. 7)	Coreyra ? (<i>Cf. B. M. Cat., Thessaly, &c.</i> , p. 187, note)
150	“Heraclea in Italia” (No. 6, Pl. XXIX. 15)	Tarentum (along with others between Nos. 7 and 18)
	ΗΡΑΚΛΕΑ.....ΩΝ	ΤΑΡΑ.....ΩΝ
151	“Heraclea in Italia” (No. 21)	Tarentum
152	“Heraclea in Macedonia” (No. 4, Pl. XXX. 4)	Heraclea ad Latmum (<i>Cf. B. M. Cat. Ionia</i>)
156	Himera (Nos. 19—21)	Panormus
	ΙΜΕ	Obscure (Phoenician ?)
159	“Irene Insula” (No. 1)	Rhithymna
160	“Istiae” (No. 1)	False
164	Lacedaemon (No. 28)	Lappa in Crete
173	Leucas (No. 26, Pl. XXXIII. 15)	Corinth
	Λ	
174	Lipara (No. 1, Pl. XXXIII. 17)	Copy of Λ (Cf. Mionnet, <i>Supp.</i> i., p. 462)
	Κ ?	

“Si je conserve dans mon esprit un doute au sujet de leur attribution à Eleutherna, c'est à cause du catalogue de la collection Hunter qui donne la légende Ε | Ρ, catalogue dans l'exactitude duquel j'ai presque toujours une grande confiance.” Certainly first impressions favour Combe's reading. Repeated examination, however, has led me to decide with some hesitation for ΕΛ. One main element is inaccurately represented in the plate —the angle at which the second letter is placed. If Combe is right, it ought not to be ϟΡ, but ΨΡ.

Page.	Combe.	Correction.
175	Lipara (No. 11, Pl. XXXIII. 22)	Issa
184	Magnesia in Ionia (Nos. 10 & 11, Pl. XXXV. 13)	Magnesia ad Sipylum
190	Maronea (No. 87, Pl. XXXV. 24)	Myrina (Six, <i>Num. Chron.</i> , 1894, p. 317)
197	Mesambria (No. 1)	<i>False</i>
200	Messene (No. 10, Pl. XXXVII. 18)	Alabanda ?

ΜΕ ΔΕΩΝ

ΑΝ[ΤΙΟ]
ΜΕ
ΧΕΩΝ

215 Neapolis in Macedonia (Nos. 1 & 3, Pl. XL. 3) Eretria (No. 2 is of quite a different fabric)

216 Neapolis in Macedonia (No. 9, Pl. XL. 4) Abydos (*Monn. grecq.*, p. 260)

„ Nicomedia (No. 2, Pl. XL. 8) Nicaea ?

.....

„ Nicomedia (No. 3, Pl. XL. 9) Nicaea ?

.....

ΝΙΚΑΙΕΩΝ ?

218 Oeniadae (Nos. 1 and 4, Pl. XL. 15 and 17) Acarnanian League

220 Opus (No. 1) Thyrrheum
Ο

222 "Paeonia regio" (No. 1, Pl. XL. 22) Sicily (*Monn. grecq.*, p. 86)

223 Panormus (Nos. 10—12 & 22, Pl. XLI. 4, 5, 8) Uncertain of Macedonia

233 Phaestus (No. 15) Phocis

233 "Roma" (No. 11) Neapolis in Apulia (*Cf. Cat. Berlin Museum*, III. i. p. 148)

257 Sala (No. 4) Elaea
ΣΑΛΗΝΩΝ

ΕΛΑ... ΤΩΝ

Page.	Combe.	Correction.
258	Same (No. 2, Pl. XLVI. 21)	Samothrace
„	Samos (No. 7)	<i>False</i>
294	Syracuse (No. 70, Pl. LIII. 24) ΣΥ	Uncertain Corinthian mint —possibly Corinth Ε Υ
296	Syracuse (No. 93)	Dyrrhachium Δ (beneath Pegasus)
„	Syracuse (No. 94)	Corinth ?
301	Syracuse (Nos. 177— 179) ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ	Messana ΜΕΣ ΣΑ ΝΙ ΩΝ
323	Thasos (No. 18)	<i>False</i>
337	Tirida (No. 1, Pl. LX. 15)	Stratus
353	“ Uria Apuliae ” (No. 1, Pl. LXII. 14)	Hyrtakina and Lisos in Crete (Svoronos, <i>Rev. Num.</i> , 1888, p. 380)
354	“ Uria Calabriae ” (No. 18, Pl. LXII. 20) VRAON “literis Etruscia”	Uncertain Oscan ΙΡΝΟΙ (= Irnhi)

—	Uncertain	
	Pl. LXVI. Nos. 1 & 2	Cyzicus
„	„ „ No. 3	Phocaea
„	„ „ Nos. 4—7	Lesbos
„	„ „ No. 8	Birythus (<i>Hist. Num.</i> , p. 470)
„	„ „ Nos. 9—13	Lesbos
„	„ „ No. 14	Sigeium ?
„	„ „ No. 15	Clazomenae
„	„ „ No. 17	Samos
„	„ „ No. 28	Sybrita (<i>Hist. Num.</i> , p. 406)
—	„ Pl. LXVII. Nos. 18 & 14	Phistelia
—	„ Pl. LXVIII. No. 17	Athens (<i>tessera</i>)
„	„ „ No. 21	Aeropus of Macedon.

The following list of corrections deals with what may be termed the subsidiary inscriptions on certain coins. With a single exception, all of them have reference to the names of persons. It did not seem worth while to put on record such obvious slips as **ΓΟΡΔΙΑΣ** for **ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ** (p. 326, *Thessalia*, No. 8), particularly where these had obtained no further currency. On the other hand, Combe's deservedly high reputation for accuracy has led to his readings being accepted without question in all cases where no *prima facie* ground for suspicion existed. Thus almost every one of the few errors he did make has been reproduced by Mionnet on the authority of the *Hunter Catalogue*, and in this way names for which there is no real evidence, have here and there found a place in the magistrates' lists of various cities.

Place in Combe.	Reading.	Correction.
Achaia, 35 (p. 6)	ΚΑΛΛΙΠΠΟΥ (Extremely indistinct. Combe has been misled by the fact that several coins in the Cabinet bear this name. In the only case where certainty is possi- ble, it is in the genitive case, not the nominative, as in all the Brit. Mus. specimens.)	[ΘΡΑΚ]ΥΛΕΩΝ (<i>Cf. Mion. II.</i> , p. 158, No. 88)
"Almum" (p. 19, Pl. III. 18)	ΑΛΜΟΝ N . . . I (See <i>Mion. S. ii.</i> , p. 41. It is a coin of Cnidus. <i>Cf. Fried- laender, Wien. Num. Zeits.</i> , 1870)	ΔΑΜΟΚ KNI (For the name ΔΑΜΟΚ , <i>cf.</i> <i>Mion. S. vi.</i> , p. 482, No. 290)

Place in Combe.	Reading.	Correction.
"Antiochia in Caria," 2 (p. 26, Pl. V. 7)	ΠΕΡΕΣΘΕΥΣ (Mion. S. vi., p. 448, No. 67)	ΜΕ[Ν]ΕΣΘΕΥΣ (Cf. Mion. III., p. 313, No. 54)
Aptera, 1 (p. 39, Pl. VI. 18)	ΠΤΟΛΙΟΣΤΟΥ (Mion. S. iv., p. 804, No. 52, footnote)	ΠΤΟΛΙΟΙΤΟΣ (Cf. Svoronos, <i>Num. de la Crète ancienne</i> , p. 15)
Argos in Argolide, 18 (p. 44)	ΑΙΛΙΑΔΑ	Λ Υ Δ Ι ΑΔΑ (Cf. B. M. Cat., <i>Pelop.</i> , p. 145, No. 116)
Chios, 55 (p. 98)	ΞΩΜΕΔΙ (Mion. S. vi., p. 895, No. 68)	[Λ]ΕΩΜΕΔ (Cf. Mion., l.c., Nos. 58—61)
Colophon, 6 (p. 103)	ΚΑΡΑΝΑΠ (Mion. S. vi., p. 96, No. 105)	ΚΛΕΑΝΔΡ (Cf. B. M. Cat., <i>Ionia</i> , p. 89, No. 25)
Cyme, 8 (p. 118)	ΚΥΚΤΗΜΩΝ (Mion. S. vi., p. 5, No. 18)	ΕΥΚΤΗΜΩΝ (Cf. B. M. Cat., <i>Troas, &c.</i> , p. 112, No. 77)
Cyzicus, 17 (p. 126, Pl. XXIV. 16)	Π ΝΕΟΚΟΡΩΝ	ΝΕΟΚΟΡΩΝ (Cf. Reinach in <i>Rerue Numismatique</i> , 1890)
Ephesus, 28 (p. 180)	.... ΑΜΩΝΙ	[ΑΠΟ]ΛΛΩΝΙ- [ΔΗΣ] (Cf. B. M. Cat., <i>Ionia</i> , p. 62, No. 184)
Magnesia in Ionia, 4 (p. 184)	ΚΕΔΡΑΜΗΣ (Mion. S. vi., p. 234, No. 1010)	ΚΥΔΡΟΚΛΗΣ (Cf. Mion., l.c., No. 1012)

Place in Combe.	Reading.	Correction.
"Megara in Attica," 1 (p. 194, Pl. XXXVI., 19)	ΒΑΚ ΜΕΓΑ (A coin of Cius. Cf. Imhoof, <i>Berl. Zeits. für Num.</i> , 1874)	ΒΑΚ ΧΕΥΣ (<i>Cf. Imhoof, Monn. grecq.</i> , p. 289)
Miletus, 11 (p. 204)	ΙΣΧΡΑΙΝ (<i>Mion. S. vi.</i> , p. 269, No. 1228)	[Α]ΙΣΧΥΛΙΝ (<i>Cf. Mion., l.c.</i> , No. 1227)
Priene, 2 (p. 241)	ΕΡΑΤΟ . . . ΑΛΧΟ . (<i>Mion. S. vi.</i> , p. 299, No. 1382)	ΕΡΑΤΩ[Ν]Ο[C] ΝΤ ΑΡΧΟ ΟΣ
Smyrna, 6 (p. 275)	ΠΟΛΛΙΑΝΟΥ (<i>Cf. Mion. S. vi.</i> , p. 324, No. 1599)	ΠΩΛΛΙΑΝΟΥ (<i>Cf. Mion., l.c.</i> , No. 1598)
Smyrna, 7 (p. 275)	ΕΠΙ. ΚΑΗΤΟΥ (<i>Mion. S. vi.</i> , p. 324, No. 1594)	ΕΠΙΚΤΗ ΤΟΥ (<i>Cf. Mion., l.c.</i> , No. 1595)
Smyrna, 20 (p. 276)	APPIANOC (<i>Mion. S. vi.</i> , p. 304, No. 1412)	ΑΡΡΙΔΑΙΟΣ (<i>Cf. Mion., l.c.</i> , No. 1410)
Smyrna, 21 (p. 276)	APPIAN (<i>Mion. S. vi.</i> , p. 304, No. 1413)	ΑΡΡΙΔΑΙ
Smyrna, 23 (p. 277)	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΩΔ . . . ΡΟΣ (<i>Mion. S. vi.</i> , p. 305, No. 1418)	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟ[Σ] (<i>Cf. Mion., III.</i> , p. 198, No. 947)
Smyrna, 41 (p. 278)	ΠΟΛΛΩΝ. ΚΑΡΑΣ (<i>Mion. S. vi.</i> , p. 307, No. 1448)	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟ[Σ] ΜΑΓΑΣ (<i>Cf. Mion., III.</i> , p. 192, No. 931)
Smyrna, 94 (p. 281)	ΕΠΙ. . . . ΗΡΚ- ΛΟΥ. ΣΟΦΙ	ΕΠΙ[ΣΤΡΑ]- ΚΑΠΡ ΟΚΛΟΥΣΟΦΙ

Place in Combe.	Reading.	Correction.
Smyrna, 122 (p. 283)	ΜΕΝΕΚΑΛ	ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑ[ΤΗΣ] (<i>Cf. Mion. S. vi., p. 812, No. 1503</i>)
Smyrna, 123 (p. 283)	ΠΑΓΑΜΟΣ	ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝ[ΟΣ] (<i>Cf. Mion. S. vi., p. 812, No. 1504</i>)
Smyrna, 126 (p. 284)	ΟΡΙΔΑ	[Α]ΠΡΙΔΑ ?
(<i>Mion. S. vi., p. 809, No. 1478</i>)		
Temnos, 8 (p. 318)	ΕΡΠΕCΙΟΥ	ΕΡΜΕΙΟΥ
	(<i>Mion. S. vi., p. 40, No. 254</i>)	(This name appears on a coin of Se- verus Alexander. <i>Mion.</i> , III., p. 80, No. 177)

GEO. MACDONALD.

GLASGOW, December, 1895.

X.

SOME NOVELTIES IN MOGHAL COINS.

(See Plates XI. and XII.)

THE coins in this paper are all from my cabinet (L. White King). After the description of each coin follow remarks explaining the reason for bringing it to the notice of numismatists.

The chief features of the coins here described are the variety of new mints, and the large number of small pieces in silver. The eponymous coins, too, of *Humāyūn* and *Kāmrān* (conjointly), and of *Jahāngīr* are of considerable interest. The new mints are, as they occur, *Dēkal*, *Mānghīr*, *Patan Dēb*, *Aurangnagar*, *Ālsandād*, *Bankāpūr*, *Qamarnagar*, *Firōznagar*, *Nāgpūr*, *Gōkalgarh*, and *Deh-Jaunpūr*.

Some of the coins have new epithets: *Jōdhpūr* is styled *Dāru-l-maṇṣūr*; *Deh-Jaunpūr*, *Dāru-l-muṣawīcīr*; and *Nāgpūr*, *Dāru-l-barakāt*.

The square copper coins of Akbar from the Ujain mint are peculiar in weight. Mr. C. J. Rodgers, in his "Mogul Copper Coins" recently published in the J.A.S. Bengal, has described a square copper coin of *Shāh Jahān* of the same weight and mint. The weights of the small silver coins are:—

No. 16	Jahāngīr	8	grains	"Nūrafshān."
" 17	"	8	"	
" 18	"	17	"	Khair Qabūl.
" 19	"	22	"	Two-anna piece.
" 22	Shāh Jahān I	17	"	"Nīṣār."
" 23	"	9·5	"	· · ·
" 24	"	15·5	"	"Nīṣār."
" 27	Aurangzēb	47·5	"	"Dirham-i-shar'āī."
" 28	"	12	"	"Nīṣār."
" 29	"	7	"	"Nīṣār."
" 30	"	5	"	· · ·
" 33	Farrukh Siyar	22	"	Two-anna piece.
" 34	"	11·5	"	· · ·
" 44	Shāh 'Alam II	20	"	· · ·

Of these Nos. 16 and 17 are *nūrafshāns*; 18 is another form of presentation money with the legend *Khair qabūl*, or, *May God accept these alms*, on it; while 22, 24, 28, and 29 bear the well-known word *nīṣār*. Perhaps 34 is too heavy for a one-anna piece and is a *nīṣār*; 44, on the other hand, is light for a two-anna piece, and may have been intended, too, as a *nīṣār*.

No. 27 is a *dirham-i-shar'āī*. Nos. 23 and 24 of *Shah Jahān I* are, perhaps, too light to be considered $\frac{1}{4}$ th and $\frac{1}{5}$ th of the weight of a rupee. These, as well as 34 of *Farrukh Siyar*, though it may be a coincidence only, work out as $\frac{1}{8}$ th, $\frac{1}{4}$ th, and $\frac{1}{5}$ th of the weight of a *dirham-i-shar'āī*, i.e., of 47·5 grains, and it is worthy of note that a *dirham-i-shar'āī* of *Farrukh Siyar*, weighing 41·5 grains, is known from the Lahore Museum Specimen (No. 33, p. 206, of the Catalogue). No. 24 only approximates to an exact fraction, $\frac{1}{8}$ th, of a rupee in weight.

Nos. 18 and 22 do not seem to follow the usual standard of presentation money, but work out as fractions of a rupee ($\frac{1}{8}$).

Until the end of Shāh Jahān's reign, presentation money seems to have followed a standard of 160 or 170 grains. In Aurangzib's reign the standard followed seems doubtful.

The consideration presents itself whether the dirham-i-shar'āi was struck to commemorate any special event.

Mr. C. J. Rodgers has kindly corrected the readings of some of the coins we now describe, several of which came from his cabinet.

MIRZA SULIMĀN.

No.	Mint.	Date.	
1	—	—	<p>Obv. خلد الله تعالیٰ</p> <p>شاہ غازی</p> <p>باد سلیمان</p> <p>سلطان</p> <p>Rev. Kalima in three lines.</p> <p>Pl. XI, Fig. 1, A7.55 x .5, Wt. 17.</p> <p>M.M.¹ between شاہ and غازی.</p> <p>A gold tanga of this king has not previously been published. He was a cousin of Bābar, and ruled in Badakshān. He was grandson of the Timūri Mahmūd and brother of Sultān Mirza.</p>
2	—	—	<p>Obv. In square area, غازی</p> <p>بادشاہ</p> <p>سلیمان</p> <p>سلطان</p> <p>Margin, السلطان الاعظم الخاقان [المکرم]</p>

¹ M.M. = Mint-mark.

No.	Mint.	Date.	
			<p>Rev. In a double wavy lozenge border, the Kalima in three lines.</p> <p>Margin, — عثمان الصديق — only is legible.</p> <p>Pl. XI, Fig. 2, AR 1·0 x 1·05, Wt. 73.</p> <p>This is a new type of Sulmān's dirhams.</p>

BĀBAR.

3	Tattah	—	<p>Obv. Area, in eight-foil,</p> <p>بابر محمد ظہیر الدین</p> <p>Margin, [السلطان] العادل [المکرم خلد] الله [ملکه] وسلطانه ضرب تھ</p> <p>Rev. Area, in a quatrefoil, the Kalima in three lines.</p> <p>Margin, — الفاروق عثمان ذالنور —</p> <p>Pl. XI, Fig. 3, AR .95, Wt. 70.</p> <p>Tattah is a new mint of Bābar.</p>
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HUMĀYŪN AND KĀMRĀN.

No.	Mint.	Date.	
4	Kābul	—	<p>Obv. Area, in twelve-foil,</p> <p>غاري هاما محمد ين</p> <p>Margin, سلطان الاعظم خلد الله تعالى ملکه وسلطانه</p> <p>Rev. Area, in twelve-foil,</p> <p>غاري شاه محمد كامران باد</p> <p>Margin, سلطان الاعظم الخاقان المكرم خلد الله تعالى ملکه وسلطانه ضرب کابل</p>

Pl. XI, Fig 4, AR 1·0, Wt. 65.

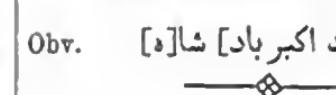
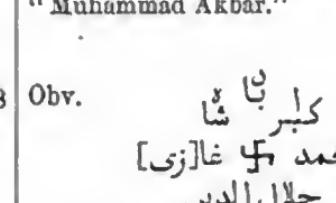
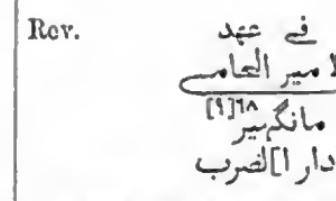
It is uncertain on what occasion this very rare coin was struck. History tells us that in 955 (1548), after Kamrān's defeat by Humāyūn at Talekān, the four brothers (Hindal, Mirza Ashkari, Kamrān, and Humāyūn) assembled at a feast, ate salt together, and were for the time entirely reconciled. Kamrān is said to have been treated with great kindness by Humāyūn on this occasion, and the coin in question may have been struck, partly, to commemorate this reconciliation of the royal brothers, and, partly, by way of recognition of Kamrān's claim to the de jure Sovereignty of Kābul.

AKBAR.

No.	Mint.	Date.	
5 sq.	—	[9]83	Obv. اکبر باشا غازی نے محمد جلال الدین Rev. Kalima in three lines. M.M. No. 26, L.M.C. ² Pl. XI, Fig. 5, AR .83 x .83, Wt. 174. This is the earliest square silver coin of Akbar known, the B.M. specimen being dated 986.
6	Dēwal Khūr- dād	—	Obv. In a double circle with dots between, الله اکبر جل جل الله Rev. خورداد الہی سر دیول Vine ornaments in both fields. Pl. XI, Fig. 6, AR .85, Wt. 178. This new mint of Akbar may repre- sent the old seaport town of Sindh. Another place of this name is an un- important village in the Rāwul Pindi District, on the road to Kashmir.

² In this paper, B.M.C. = "Catalogue of the Coins of the Moghul Emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum," London, 1892. I.M.C. = "Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum," part ii, Calcutta, 1894. L.M.C. = "The Coins of the Moghul Emperors of India," Lahore Museum, Calcutta, 1894.

No.	Mint.	Date.	
7 sq. ½	Āhmad- ābād	987	<p>Obv. Area, in a double square with dots between,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">اکبر الله</p> <p>Rev. Area, ditto,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">امداباد ب صر</p> <p>M.M. No. 12, I.M.C.</p> <p>Pl. XI, Fig. 7, $\text{R} \cdot 55 \times 55$, Wt. 44.</p> <p>On this coin the inscription reads اکبر الله "Akbar is God," and not الله اکبر "God is great," the usual phrase.</p>
8 ½	Āgrah	47 DI	<p>Obv. Area, in a square, inscribed in a quatrefoil, the latter enclosed in a double circle with dots between,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">الله اکبر جل جل الله</p> <p>Rev. Area, in an ornamented octagon, formed by two interlacing squares, enclosed in a double circle with dots between, -</p> <p style="text-align: center;">دی الله اکبر ب صرب در</p> <p>Pl. XI, Fig. 8, $\text{R} \cdot 65$, Wt. 88.</p>

No.	Mint.	Date.	
			This is the only <i>Darb</i> , named so, known, <i>darb</i> being the old name for a half <i>jalālah</i> , which, however, was square.
9	Srinagar	4-Di	Obv. [محمد اکبر باد] شا[ہ]  Rev.  $\text{M} \cdot 75$, Wt. 77.
10	Māngīr	[9]68	This is new in having the mint town below the cross-bar in place of "Muhammad Akbar." Obv. [کبیر باد شا] [محمد اکبر غازی] [جلال الدین]  Rev.  M.M. No. 41, L.M.C. $\text{Pl. XI, Fig. 9, M} \cdot 95$, Wt. 310.

No.	Mint.	Date.	
11	Patnah	987	Obv. پتنہ دارالضرب فلوس Rev. هفت ۹۸۷ هشتاد و نہصد و M.M. above ص. Pl. XI, Fig. 10, $\text{Æ} \cdot 9$, Wt. 320. This is a new copper mint of Akbar.
12 sq.	Ujain	995	Obv. فلوس اجیس ضرب Rev. نہصد نود پنج ۱۱[۵] M.M. No. 11, I.M.C. $\text{Æ} \cdot 6 \times \cdot 6$, Wt. 104. This is a square copper coin of the Ujain mint, and perhaps the only one of this type known.
13 sq.	—	—	Obv. [اکبر] بادشاہ [خا] [زی] [محمد] جلال الدین Rev. Kalima in three lines. $\text{Æ} \cdot 6 \times \cdot 6$, Wt. 103. This square copper coin with the Kalima reverse, instead of the year in words, was probably also struck in Ujain. It is new.

JAHĀNGĪR.

No.	Mint.	Date.	
14	Ājmīr	1024 10th	<p>Obv. Area, in a double circle with dots between,</p> <p>۱۰۲۴ اکبر شہنشاہ شاد جہانگیر</p> <p>Rev. Area, ditto,</p> <p>بر زر فتح با زد سکه جمیر درا</p> <p>Both sides covered with vines.</p> <p>Pl. XI, Fig. 11, AR 9, Wt. 176.5.</p> <p>دراجمیر زد سکه فتح بر زر ۱۰۲۴ جہانگیر شاہ شہنشاہ اکبر ۱۰۲۴</p> <p>This is an interesting eponymous coin of Jahāngīr, bearing a new couplet. It was struck in the year of the conquest of Uḍīpūr, which it commemorates.</p>
15	Kashmīr	— 15th	<p>Obv. Area, in a rayed disc, the Gemini standing face to face, and embracing each other.</p>



MOGHAL COINS.



No.	Mint.	Date.	
16 ¹⁶	Āgrah	1022	<p>Rev. Area, شاه اکبر شاد زیور نام جهانگیر بکشمیر سکه زر گشت جهان فیروز</p> <p>AR .75, Wt. 174.5.</p> <p>جهان فیروز گشت بکشمیر سکه زر زیور نام جهانگیر شاه اکبر</p> <p>A zodiacal rupee of this mint has not previously been published. The attitude of the Twins on the coin is new, the specimen figured, No. 388, Pl. xi, B.M.C., being an imitation, and only half weight.</p>
17 ¹⁷	Lāhōr	[10]18	<p>Obv. Area, in double circle with dots between, افشا نور</p> <p>Rev. Area, ditto, اکسرہ ب ضر ۱۰۲۲</p> <p>AR .33, Wt. 8.</p> <p>Obv. Area, as on No. 16.</p> <p>Rev. Area, لاهور ب ضر ۱۰۱۸</p> <p>AR .35, Wt. 8.</p>

No.	Mint.	Date.	
			These are the smallest coins of Jahāngīr known, and are supposed to have been used by Nūr Jahān as presentation money. <i>Nūrāshāh</i> was probably the equivalent of Akbar's <i>sūki</i> , or $\frac{1}{5}$ th of a rupee.
18 15	—	— 13th	Obv. Area, in a double circle with dots between, Rev. Area, ditto, AR .35, Wt. 17.
19 16	Āgrah	1036 22nd	This description of presentation money has not previously been noticed. This piece is $\frac{1}{5}$ th of a rupee in weight. Obv. Area, in a double circle with dots between, Rev. Area, ditto, Pl. XI, Fig. 12, AR .43, Wt. 22. This is a two-anna piece of Jahāngīr of a type not hitherto known, and is in beautiful preservation.

SHĀH JAHĀN I.

No.	Mint.	Date.	
20	Patan-Dēō	1047	<p>Obv. Area, in a square with knots at the corners,</p> <p>باد شاد غازی شاہ جہان</p> <p>Margin, شہاب الدین || محمد صاحب || قران ثانی || ضرب پتن دیو ||</p> <p>Rev. Area, ditto, not shown in plate, Kalima in three lines; ۱۰۴۷ in left margin.</p> <p>Pl. XI, Fig. 13, AR .95, Wt. 172.</p> <p>Patan Dēō represents Dwarkā, the celebrated place of pilgrimage in Kāthiāwār. This mint has not been noticed before. The coin was originally in the possession of the Rev. Geo. P. Taylor, D.D.</p>
21	?	1st	<p>Obv.</p> <p>رائیج باد سکہ شاہ جہان</p> <p>.....</p> <p>Rev. Kalima in three lines, below which</p> <p>سنہ صر</p> <p>AR .8, Wt. 174.6.</p> <p>This coin was probably struck by Shāh Jahān when in rebellion against his father.</p>

No.	Mint.	Date.	
22 ۲۲	Akbar- ābād	1064	Obv. قران ثانی صاحب شار اکبر آباد ب صر ۱۰۶۴ ستہ
			Rev. Pl. XI, Fig. 14, AR .45, Wt. 17. A nisar of this mint and size has not previously been published. Like No. 24 it is $\frac{1}{8}$ th of a rupee in weight.
23 ۲۳	Aurang- nagar	1038	Obv. باد شاہ غاری شاہ جہان Rev. نگر نگ اور صر ۱۰۳۸ ستہ
			AR .35, Wt. 9.5. This coin, which is somewhat worn, was probably a one-anna piece. The mint is new, and no coin of this size has before been published.
24	Akbar- ābād	1040	Obv. [شاہ جہان] شار [باد] Rev. اباد اکبر مستقر الحلالہ صر ۱۰۴۰ ستہ
			AR .39, Wt. 15.5. This coin, which was probably $\frac{1}{8}$ th of a rupee, is a new type of <u>Shāh</u> <u>Jahān's</u> nisars.

AURANGZĪB.

No.	Mint.	Date.	
25	Mailā-pūr	1118 51st	<p>Obv.</p> <p>عالیم گیر ۱۱۱۸ اورنگ زیب شاد زد چوبدر منیر سکه در جهان مانوس</p> <p>میہمنت سنہ جلوس ضرب میلہ پور</p>
			<p>Pl. XI, Fig. 16, AR 1·0, Wt. 174.</p> <p>Mailāpūr is a new Moghal mint in silver. It is the name of a well-known quarter of the town of Madras.</p>
26	Āhsan-ābād	1115 46th	<p>Obv. As on No. 25, not shown in plate.</p> <p>Rev. As on No. 25, but ۱۱۱۵, ۴۶ year, and mint Āhsanābād احسن اباد.</p>
			<p>Pl. XII, Fig. 1, AR 9, Wt. 174.</p> <p>Āhsanābād is a new Moghal mint, and may be another name of Kulburga in the Deccan.</p>
27	Multān	1094	<p>Obv.</p> <p>در ۱۰۹۴ م سر</p>

No.	Mint.	Date.	Rev.	M.M. No. 7, L.M.C.
			Rev.	مُلْكَان بِخْرَم
28	Akbar- ābād	1077	Obv.	عَالَمُكَبِّر شَاه نَثَارِ بَاد
29	Akbar- ābād.	—	Rev.	اَكْبَرِ بَاد بِخْرَم R. 35, Wt. 12.
			Obv.	عَا[لَمُكَبِّر] شَاه نَثَارِ بَاد]
			Rev.	ابَاد اَكْبَر مُسْتَقْرِ الخَلَافَه R. 27, Wt. 7.
				This is the smallest nisar, so named, of Aurangzib.

No.	Mint.	Date.	
30	Akbar- ābād	—	Obv. عالم گیر شاہ Rev. اکبر آباد صرب AR. 23, Wt. 5.0.
			This is probably a type of presentation money, and is notable for its minute size.
31	Ā'zam- nagar	— 32nd	Obv. عالم گیر بادشاہ نلوش Rev. نگر اعظم صرب Æ. 80, Wt. 208.
			This is the only copper coin known of the Ā'zamnagar mint, previously represented by a rupee of Farrukh Siyar.

FARRUKH SIYAR.

32	Bankāpūr	1127 5th	Obv. بھرو بر فرخ سیر شاہ حق بر سیم وزر باد فضل سکھ زد از ۱۱۲۷
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No.	Mint.	Date.	
			<p>Rev. مانوس میہنت سنہ جلد وس^د (sic) صر بنکاپور</p> <p>AR 1·0, Wt. 174. Bankāpūr, in Bengal, is a new Moghul mint.</p>
33 †	Shūh-jahān-ābād	1127	<p>Obv. Area, غازی شاد فرخ سیر باد</p> <p>Rev. Area, in a double circle with dots between, جهان اباد شاد دار الحکم صرب [11]rv</p> <p>Pl. XII, Fig. 3, AR .57 x .52, Wt. 22. This two-anna picce is one of the few small silver coins of Farrukh Siyar known.</p>
34	Akbar-ābād	—	<p>Obv. فرخ سیر</p> <p>Rev. اکبر اباد</p> <p>Pl. XII, Fig. 4, AR .44, Wt. 11·5. This one-anna piece is probably the only one known of this King.</p>

No.	Mint.	Date.	
35	Kābul	— 7th	Obv. فرخ سیر شاہ فلوس باد
			Rev. دارالملک ضر کابل سنه
			Æ .85 x .95, Wt. 208.
36	Sūrat	—	Obv. فرخ سیر شاہ [فلوس باد]
			Rev. سنه [ج] لو[س] ضر سُورت
			Æ .73 x .85, Wt. 211.

Farrukh Siyar's copper coins are rare, especially with legible mints. The Kābul one is new.

RAFI'AU-D-DARAJĀT.

37	Murshid- ābād	1131 1st	Obv. ربيع الدرجا [بر]کت شہنشاہ دادگر 1131 [زد] سکه بہند باہزاران
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No.	Mint.	Date.	
			<p>Rev. مانوس میمنت احد سنہ جلوس ضرب مرشدآباد</p> <p>Pl. XII, Fig. 5, AR .85, Wt. 178.</p> <p>This is a new type of Rafī'au-d-Darajāt's coins, having دادگر, "Justice Dispenser," on the obverse, in place of بھروبر.</p>

MUHAMMAD SHĀH.

38	Qamar-nagar	— 20th	<p>Obv. محمد شاد باد شاہ غاز مبارک</p> <p>Rev. مانوس میمنت سنہ جلوس ضرب قمرنگر</p> <p>Pl. XII, Fig. 6, AR .85, Wt. 177.</p> <p>M.M. above ب of مبارک, and above ج of جلوس.</p> <p>Qamarnagar is a new Moghal mint supposed to be Karnālin the Panjāb.</p>
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No.	Mint.	Date.	
39	Firōz-nagar	114-12th	Obv. شاد محمد ۱۱۴- شـاء بـاد غـازـي مـبارـك Rev. مـانـوس مـيمـنـت سـنـه جـلوـس ضـرب فـيـرـوزـنـگـر

Pl. XII, Fig. 7, Ar. 85, Wt. 178.

Firōznagar is a new Moghal mint, the situation of which is unknown.

'ALAMGĪR II.

No.	Mint.	Date.	Obv.
40	Jōdhpūr	1172 4th	عـالـمـكـيرـثـانـه عـزـيزـالـدـيـنـ بـرـزـرـ سـكـهـ چـوـزـدـ صـاحـبـقـرـاـ دارـالـمـنـصـورـ جـيـوـزـپـورـ ضـربـ جـلوـسـ مـيمـنـتـ مـانـوسـ ۴ [سـنـهـ]

Pl. XII, Fig. 8, Ar. 9, Wt. 173.5.

M.M. No. 53, L.M.C. below لم of
عـالـمـكـيرـسـكـهـ بـرـزـرـ چـوـ صـاحـبـ قـرـانـ
زـدـ عـزـيزـالـدـيـنـ عـالـمـكـيرـثـانـهDaru-l-mansur, or the *House of Victory*, is a new epithet and therefore interesting. The couplet, too, is new.

SHĀH JAHĀN III.

No.	Mint.	Date.	
41 $\frac{1}{2}$	Sūrat	— 1st	<p>Obv. شاه جهان بادشاہ غاز سکہ مبار</p> <p>Rev. مانوس میمنت احد سنہ جملوں ضرب سُورت</p> <p>Pl. XII, Fig. 9, AR .83, Wt. 85. M.M. in س of جلوں.</p> <p>An eight-anna piece of this King has not previously been published.</p>

SHĀH 'ALAM II.

42	Nāgpūr	1218 45th	<p>Obv. شاه عالم بادشاہ غاز سکہ مبار</p> <p>Rev. دار البرکات ناگپور ضرب مانوس میمنت جلوں ۴۵</p> <p>Pl. XII, Fig. 10, AR 1.15, Wt. 175. M.M. above ب of مبارک, and sword, with point upwards, between س and مانوس.</p>
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No.	Mint.	Date.	
43	Gökal-garh	[11] 91 19th	<p>Nägpür is a new silver Moghal mint. The coin has a curious epithet, Däru-l-baraküt, or <i>House of Blessings</i>.</p> <p>Obv. الله محمد شاه عالم باد شاد فضل حامى دين [11] 91 سايه سکه زد در هفت کشور گوکل گرہ ضرب جلوس میمنت مانوس سنہ</p> <p>Pl. XII, Fig. 11, Ar. 9, Wt. 170. M.M. in J of mint name.</p> <p>Gökalgarh is a new silver mint of the Moghals.</p>
44	Shah jahān-ābād	1220 48th	<p>Obv. Area, in a double circle with sprigs between, showing parts of the inscription below.</p> <p>شاد شاد الله دین محمد عالم باد سکه صاحب ترا حا زد زتایید</p> <p>Rev. Area, فه جہا اباد دار الخلاشان ضرب مانوس میمنت جلوس سنہ</p>

No.	Mint.	Date.	
			M.M. No. 54, L.M.C. above ح of صاحب. This coin, of a new type, seems to be a two-anna piece from its weight, and was probably issued as a nisar.

SHĀH AKBAR II.

45	Ājmīr	— 6th	Obv. شاد اکبر شاد باد غاز سے Rev. دار الخیر اجمیر صریب سنہ
			Pl. XII, Fig. 12, AE .95, Wt. 275. This coin has the Jaipur mint mark سنہ. It is a new type in copper.
46	Deh-Jaunpūr	31	Obv. محمد اکبر شاد بادشاہ غاز Rev.. دار المصور دہ جونپور صریب مانوس میمنت جلوس

Pl. XII, Fig. 13, AE 1.05, Wt. 350.

م.م. sword above شاد of باد.

This is of a new mint of Akbar II,
the epithet Dāru-l-Muṣawwir, the
Ornamented City, or City of Palaces,
being noteworthy.

NOTE.—The following coins, which have been acquired since the above paper was written, deserve a passing mention as they are rare types and do not seem to have been previously published.

AKBAR.

JAHĀNGĪR.

48	Ājmīr	1014 1st yr.	Obv.	جہانگیر روان = Rawān i Juhāngiri.
			Rev.	أجمير غرب سنة ١٠١٤ = Zarb i Ajmir Sun 1014.

No.	Mint.	Date.	
49	Agrah	—	<p>Ajmir was a copper mint of Akbar's, but was not previously known as one of Jehangir.</p> <p>Obv. بحکم شاد جهانگیر یافت صد زیور سنہ — — —</p> <p>Rev. زنام پادشاہ نور جهان بیگم زر ضرب اگرہ</p> <p>Rs. 60, Wt. 39<i>½</i>.</p> <p>The usual couplet on Nūr Jahān's coins. This is a curious coin, being a contemporary forgery of a quarter rupee of Nūr Jahān, of which the original is unknown.</p>

AURANGZIB.

50	Narnol	1074	<p>Obv. مبارک جلو</p> <p>= Julius i Mubarik.</p> <p>Rev. [۱۰۷۴] سنہ نارنول ضرب [ب]</p> <p>= Zarb i Narnol. San 1074.</p> <p>Both areas within a double circle.</p> <p>Rs. 80, Wt. 213.</p> <p>A new copper mint of this King.</p>
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No.	Mint.	Date.	
51	Machli-patan	1117 50th yr.	<p>Obv. سے رہ ۵۰ ضمر محلی پتن = Aurangzib? San 50 Zarb i Machlipatan.</p> <p>Rev. مبارک ۱۱۱۷ جلوس = Julus i Mubārik 1117.</p> <p>A congeries of dots on both areas. Æ .83, Wt. 213. Another rare copper mint of Aurangzib = Masulipatam in Madras.</p>

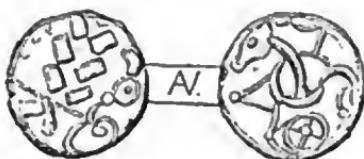
SHĀH 'ĀLAM II.

52	Gwalior	29th yr.	<p>Obv. - - - الله حامی فضل</p> <p>= Fazl i Allah Hāmi.</p> <p>Rev. مانوس میمنت سنہ جلوس San 29 julüs i Maimanat Mānüs. Pl. XII, Fig. 14, Æ .90, Wt. 146. This coin is hexagonal, which is a rare type among Moghal coins. It bears the sword mark, which assigns it to Gwalior.</p>
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No.	Mint.	Date.	
53	Akbarpur	—	<p>Obv. عالم شاه فُلُوس ○</p> <p>= Fulūs i Alamshāhi.</p>
		Rev.	<p>اکبر پور ضرب</p> <p>--- ○</p> <p>= Zarb i Akbarpur.</p>

L. WHITE KING.
WILLIAM VOST.

MISCELLANEA.



ANCIENT BRITISH COIN FOUND NEAR WATFORD, HERTS.—The gold eein, of which a figure¹ is given above, was found during the autumn of 1895, by a man who was excavating for the foundations of a house at Callow Laad or New Watford, about a mile from Watford Station in a northerly direction. From the finder it came into the hands of Messrs. Spink & Son, from whom I obtained it. It may be described as follows:—

Obv.—Portions of a rude imitation of the laureate head of Apollo on the Macedonian Philippus; the leaves of the wreath run in opposite directions from a faint transverse line; in front are some curved lines and pellets, a crescent-shaped protuberance, and a somewhat oval ring ornament; behind are some very faint traces of ornamentation.

Rev.—Disjointed horse l., the off fore-leg bent to an acute angle at the knee, the near leg slightly bent in front of a wheel with four spokes, from the rim of which a line runs to the knee of the horse; above, a reversed T-shaped figure between two slight protuberances; the head of the horse is large and its outline formed by raised lines.

N. 81½ grains.

¹ This figure is slightly less in diameter than the original.

This coin is uninscribed and differs in several respects from any that have been published. In general character, however, it closely approximates to coins usually found in Yorkshire and in the adjoining counties to the south, such as those inscribed VEP CORF., Ev., Pl. XVII. 5, 6, 7. The reverse is much like that of some uninscribed coins from the Yorkshire district, such as Ev., Pl. XVII., 10, 11, but differs in giving the wheel and the bent fore-leg of the horse. The open character of the horse's head bears much analogy to that of the head of the animal on the reverse of the coins reading DVMNOCOVEROS, &c.

There can, therefore, be little doubt that this coin was struck at some place considerably to the north of Hertfordshire. Its extremely degenerate types, and its light weight, 81 $\frac{1}{2}$ grains—precisely the same as that of the uniface coin, Ev., Pl. XVII. 11—assign the coin to a very late place in the ancient British coinage, and not improbably to a time when the southern part of this island was already under Roman rule. Coins of this class have indeed been found associated with Roman denarii struck but a year or two before the invasion of Claudius in A.D. 43.

It is useless to speculate on the way in which this northern coin found its way into Hertfordshire. It was, however, dug up not far from what seems to be a Roman road, leading from Watford to Verulamium, and there is a strong temptation to suggest that it may have been part of the spoil of some Roman soldier returning from the conquest of the territory of the Brigantes by Petilius Cerealis in A.D. 71.

JOHN EVANS.

XI.

ON A FIND MADE IN THE LIPARI ISLANDS, INCLUDING AN UNPUBLISHED COIN OF RHEGIUM.

I HAVE recently had an opportunity of examining a small hoard of Greek silver that was found in Vulcano, the ancient Hiera, and is now in the possession of Mr. James Stevenson of Largs, on whose property it was discovered. Mr. Stevenson has supplied me with the following particulars as to the exact locality of the find. The island was originally a cone with a crater a mile wide. In course of time this crater has filled up, forming a plateau at a height of about one thousand feet above sea-level. Near the edge of the plateau rises a new cone, whose eruptions provided Virgil with the material for his description in *Aeneid*, viii., 416—422. At one point the new crater trenches upon the margin of the old one, breaking it down and leaving a deep ravine. And it was just here, in a cave at the top of the cliff formed by the broken rim of the original crater, that the pot containing the coins had been stowed away.

Mr. Stevenson's manager was not on the spot when the find was made; but he heard of it almost immediately, and lost no time in securing the coins. Distribution had already begun, so that in a few cases he had to buy from second hands. He believes, however, that he succeeded

in collecting all that the pot had contained. The following summary will indicate the general character of the hoard. With the single exception of the coin of Rhegium, all are didrachms.

Cales	:	:	:	:	:	:	1
Neapolis	:	:	:	:	:	:	17
Tarentum	:	:	:	:	:	:	86
Campano-Tarentine	:	:	:	:	:	:	5
Velia	:	:	:	:	:	:	2
Rhegium	:	:	:	:	:	:	1
Uncertain	:	:	:	:	:	:	1
							—
							68

The coin of Cales calls for no remark. The exergue, where the inscription would naturally come, is wanting. But the types are of the usual kind, and it must have been issued *circa* 334—268 B.C., the only period during which Cales struck silver. Nor do the pieces of Néapolis present any features of special interest. The majority of them are in bad condition, having been corroded by the volcanic vapours that have played about them for so many centuries, and it is often impossible to distinguish the symbols or to decipher the inscriptions. The weights range from 120 grains to 108·4. The types are in all cases the same—*Obr.*, Head of nymph or goddess; *Rev.*, Man-headed bull. Wherever the inscription is legible, it reads **ΝΕΟΡΩΛΙΤΩΝ** or **ΝΕΟΡΩΛΙΤΕΩΝ**, the form employed *circa* 340—268 B.C.¹ None of the coins that

¹ Except as regards Tarentum I have followed the dates given as "approximate" in the *Historia Numorum*. On the question as to whether the independent silver coinage of Neapolis came to an end precisely in 268 B.C., see A. J. Evans, "Horsemen of Tarentum," in *Num. Chron.*, 1889 (pp. 170 f.). It should, perhaps, be mentioned that at least five of the

are undecipherable have anything about them that suggests an earlier epoch.

The Tarentine portion of the hoard deserves more careful analysis. The coins are all "Horsemen," and all of them belong either to Evans's Period VII. (281—272 B.C.) or to his Period VIII. (272—235 B.C.). In weight they range from 106.3 grains to 93.1. Their condition is not always satisfactory, symbols and legends being occasionally blurred or altogether obscured. In a few instances, therefore, absolute certainty as to variety is not attainable. But the following table contains no serious error. The first column gives the reference to Evans (*Num. Chron.*, 1889), the second gives the number of coins in the hoard under discussion.

VII. A. 2	.	.	.	8	Bronght forward	.	22
VII. A. 6	.	.	.	4	VIII. A. 4	.	2
VII. B. 1	.	.	.	1	VIII. A. 6	.	1
VII. C. 3	.	.	.	2	VIII. B. 3	.	2
VII. C. 4	.	.	.	2	VIII. C. 2	.	2
VII. C. 6	.	.	.	1	VIII. D. 2	.	1
VII. F. 1	.	.	.	4	VIII. L. 3	.	4
VII. F. 5	.	.	.	2	VIII. M. 1	.	1
VII. G.	.	.	.	2	VIII. M. 2	.	1
*VII. K.	.	.	.	1			—
							86
Carried forward	.			22			

The coin marked with an asterisk is particularly interesting. Evans calls H and K "excessively rare types." Here we have the obverse type of K combined with a reverse characteristic of H. The illustration and full description are as follows:—

Neapolitan didrachms in the present find bear the letters $\text{I} \leq$, and are therefore possibly later than 262 B.C. (See Evans, *loc. cit.*)



Naked youth, with both legs extended together, seated sideways on horse which canters l. ; in field to r., **EY**
Beneath horse, [I]ΩΓ:Y

TAPAE Youth astride on dolphin to l., holding palm in l. and with r. extending kantharos; in field to r. a crested Corinthian helmet; to l. **ΩI**

The five Campano-Tarentine coins are in no way remarkable. They range in weight from 116.4 grains to 111. The exceptional weight of the heaviest coin (and of another weighing 116.3) is due to a slight accretion of volcanic substance. The types are as usual—*Obv.*, Head of nymph or goddess; *Rev.*, Naked horseman crowning his horse. The history of this federal issue is obscure, but Mr. Evans holds that “the great bulk” of it was struck after 272 B.C.

The two didrachms of Velia present no noteworthy features. Both belong to the last period during which the town had a silver currency, ending *circa* 268 B.C.

Most interesting of all is the coin of Rhegium, which is fortunately in good condition. So far as I have been able to ascertain, it is unpublished. The following is a detailed description with illustration:—



Head of Apollo l., wearing laurel wreath; hair long; behind, dolphin downwards; border of dots.

ΦΗΓΙ ΝΩΝ. Lion's head facing; border of dots.

It weighs 26·8 grains, and would thus appear to be a piece of two litræ, issued *circa* 270—203 B.C. (See *Hist. Num.*, p. 95.)

Such being the character of the hoard, it is not difficult to conjecture why and when it was hidden away. Obviously there must have been some pressing motive for concealment. In ordinary circumstances no small capitalist would choose to deposit his savings in a crater. And it cannot have been from the volcano that danger threatened. For on the eve of an eruption the security offered would be very doubtful. Further, one of the two Tarentine coins representing VIII. A. 4 was apparently *fleur de coin* at the time of hiding, though now partially coated with the foreign substance that disfigures so many of the others in the find. The pot must therefore have been placed in the cave during Period VIII. (272—235 B.C.). And probably comparatively early in that period, since nearly two-thirds of the Tarentine didrachms belong to Period VII. (281—272 B.C.). The collective evidence afforded by the other coins points in the same direction—that is, to somewhere about 260 B.C. The First Punic War began in 264 B.C. In those days Hiero, which now supports a small population,

seems to have been uninhabited, although there was a considerable town on the neighbouring Lipara (Diodorus, v. 7, 5). When the war broke out, the Lipari Islands, with their good harbours, formed an important naval station of the Carthaginians (Diodorus, xxii. 13, 7). By the time it was over, they were in the iron grasp of Rome. During the interval the maritime supremacy of the Mediterranean had swayed in the balance between the rival powers, and Vulcano and its neighbours had witnessed more than one serious encounter (Polybius, i., 21, 25, 39). Besides such greater incidents, there must have been many less. It was doubtless at some moment of alarm in those stirring times that the owner of the little hoard ferried across from Lipara, and concealed it where it was to rest so long. Why did he never return to claim his property? It requires but little imagination to suggest a reason.

GEO. MACDONALD.

XII.

ROMAN COINS FOUND AT BRICKENDONBURY, HERTFORD.

(See Plate XIII.)

In the summer of 1895, during the course of some drainage works at Brickendonbury, the seat of Mr. Pearson, about a mile and a half south of the town of Hertford, the workmen came upon a small hoard of Roman *denarii*, for the most part of base metal. There was no appearance of any urn or vessel to contain the coins, but they lay partly in a small recess cut in the virgin clay, and partly in the soil above, which many years ago was derived, it is believed, from the moat close at hand. There must have been rather more than 430 coins in all in the deposit, the greater number of which came into the possession of Mr. Pearson, who has kindly placed them in my hands for examination. I am indebted to our member, Mr. R. T. Andrews, of Hertford, not only for calling my attention to the coins, but for making a preliminary arrangement of them. He has also got together and submitted to me a certain number of the coins belonging to the same deposit that had been dispersed. The following Emperors, Empresses, and Caesars are represented in the hoard. In

describing these coins, I have referred for details to the second edition of Cohen's *Médailles Impériales*.

The following is a summary of the coins:—

Commodus	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Pertinax	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Septimius Severus	.	.	.	.	.	.	33
Julia Domna	.	.	.	.	.	.	15
Caracalla	.	.	.	.	.	.	20
Plautilla	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
Geta	.	.	.	.	.	.	8
Diadumenianus	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
Elagabalus	.	.	.	.	.	.	67
Julia Paula	.	.	.	.	.	.	5
Aquilia Severa	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
Julia Soaemias	.	.	.	.	.	.	15
Julia Maesa	.	.	.	.	.	.	23
Severus Alexander	.	.	.	.	.	.	144
Sallustia Barbia Orbiana	.	.	.	.	.	.	3
Julia Mamaea	.	.	.	.	.	.	30
Maximinus	.	.	.	.	.	.	19
Maximus	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Gordianus III.	.	.	.	.	.	.	25
Pupienus	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Philippus I.	.	.	.	.	.	.	9
Philippus II.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Trajanus Decius	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
Herennia Etrusilla	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
Herennius Etruscus	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
							— 432

COMMODUS.

P.M. TR. P. XVII. IMP. VIII. COS. VII. P.P.		Cohen.
Victory l. (A.D. 192)	.	568
		— 1

PERTINAX.

AEQVIT. AVG. TR. P. COS. II. Equity stand-				
ing l.	.	.	.	2
			.	— 1

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

	Cohen.
ANNONAE AVG. Abundance standing l.	36
BONAE SPEI. Hope walking l. Without II.CO. on obv.	60
COS. II. P. P. Victory l.	96
FORTVN. REDVC. Fortune standing l. with cornucopiae and rudder	174
FORTVN. REDVC. Fortune seated	177
INDVLGENTIA AVGG. IN CARTH. Goddess on lion r.	222
IOVI CONSERVATORI. Jupiter seated l.	236
LIBERO PATRI. Bacchus standing l.	302
MARTI PACIFERO. Mars standing l.	315
MVNIFICENTIA AVG. Elephant r.	348
P. M. TR. P. II. COS. II. P. P. Pallas standing l.	381
P. M. TR. P. II. COS. II. P. P. Fortune standing	385
P. M. TR. P. III. COS. II. P. P. Victory marching l.	419
P. M. TR. P. V. COS. II. P. P. The Sun standing l.	433
P. M. TR. P. VI. COS. II. P. P. Fortune stand- ing (IMP. X on obv.).	442
P. M. TR. P. V. COS. II. P. P. Peace seated l.	444
P. M. TR. P. XII. COS. III. P. P. Genius at altar	464
P. M. TR. P. XIII. COS. III. P. P. Pallas standing l.	470
P. M. TR. P. XV. COS. III. P. P. Africa standing r.	493
P. M. TR. P. XVIII. COS. III. P. P. Jupiter between Caracalla and Geta	540
PROFECTIO AVG. Severus on horseback r.	578
SALVTI AVGG. Salus seated l.	641
SECVRITAS PUBLICA. Security seated l.	647
S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. Emperor on horseback l.	652
VICT. AVGG. COS. II. P. P. Victory walking l.	694
VICTOR. IVST. AVG. Victory walking l. with wreath in r. and palm-branch in l.	738
VICT. PARTHICAE. Victory walking l.	741
VICT. PART. MAX. Victory marching l.	744

—33

JULIA DOMNA.

		Cohen.	
CONCORDIA.	Concord seated l.	21	1
FELICITAS.	Felicity standing l.	47	2
HILARITAS.	Goddess standing l.	72	2
IVNO REGINA.	Juno standing l.	97	2
MATER DEVVM.	Cybele seated l.	123	1
PIETAS PVBLICA.	Piety at altar l.	156	1
SAECVLI FELICITAS.	Isis and Horus?	174	1
SAECVLI FELICITAS.	Empress at altar, as No. 178		1
VENERI VICTR.	Venus standing r. with column	194	1
VENVS FELIX.	Venus standing l.	198	2
VENVS GENETRIX.	Venus seated; Cupid in front	205	1
			—15

CARACALLA.

FIDES PVBLICA.	Fides standing r.	82	1
MARTI VLTORI.	Mars walking r.	154	2
PART. MAX. PONT. TR. P. V. COS.	Trophy between two captives	179	1
P. M. TR. P. XVI. COS. IIII. P. P.	Liberty standing l.	224	1
P. M. TR. P. XVII. COS. IIII. P. P.	Hercules standing l.	244	1
P. M. TR. P. XVIII. COS. IIII. P. P.	Fides standing between two standards	315	1
P. M. TR. P. XVIII. COS. III. P. P.	Jupiter standing l.	337	1
PONTIF. TR. P. III.	Jupiter standing l.	413	1
PONTIF. TR. P. VIII. COS. II.	Mars standing l.	424	2
PONTIF. TR. P. X. COS. II.	Security seated r.	434	1
PONTIF. TR. P. XIII. COS. III.	Concord seated l., as 493, but XIII.		1
PONT. TR. P. VI. COS.	Rome standing	499	1
PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS.	Caracalla standing l., trophy behind	505	1
PROFECTIO AVG.	Caracalla standing r., two standards behind	508	1
RECTOR ORBIS.	Caracalla standing l.	512	1
SECVRITAS PERPETVA.	Pallas standing l.	566	1
VOTA SVSCEPTA X.	Caracalla standing at tripod	689	2
			—20

PLAUTILLA.

		Cohen.	
CONCORDIA AVGG.	Concord standing . . .	1	1
VENVS VICTRIX.	Venus standing l. with Cupid	25	1
		—2	

GETA.

NOBILITAS.	Nobility standing r. . .	90	1
PONTIF. COS.	Pallas standing l. . .	104	3
PONTIF. COS. II.	Geta standing l. . .	117	1
PRINO. IVVENT.	Geta standing l. . .	157	1
SECVRIT. IMPERII.	Security seated l. . .	183	1
SEVERI PII AVG. FIL.	Sacrificial instruments	188	1
		—8	

DIADUMENIANUS.

PRINC. IVVENTVTIS.	Caesar standing—three standards . . .	12	1
SPES PVBLICA.	Spes marching l. . .	21	1
		—2	

ELAGABALUS.

ABVNDANTIA AVG.	Abundance standing l. . .	1	1
FIDES EXERCITVS.	Fides seated l. . .	28	1
" "	" . .	31	1
FIDES MILITVM.	Three standards . . .	43	1
INVICTVS SACERDOS AVG.	Elagabalus horned l. at altar, as . . .	58	1
INVICTVS SACERDOS AVG.	Elagabalus l. at altar . . .	61	8
LAETITIA PVBL.	Laetitia standing l. . .	70	2
LIBERALITAS AVG. II.	Liberality standing l. . .	80	2
LIBERTAS AVG.	Liberty standing l. . .	90	6
MARS VICTOR.	Mars marching r. . .	112	1
PAX AVGVSTI.	Peace hurrying l. . .	120	1
P. M. TR. P. II. COS. II. P. P.	Rome seated l. . .	136	1
P. M. TR. P. II. COS. II. P. P.	Peace walking l. . .	143	1
P. M. TR. P. II. COS. II. P. P.	Providence standing l. . .	144	2
Carried forward		29	

		Cohen.	
Brought forward		29	
P. M. TR. P. III. COS. III. P. P. Fortune seated l.		147	1
P. M. TR. P. III. COS. III. P. P. Jupiter seated l.		151	1
P. M. TR. P. III. COS. III. P. P. The Sun walking l.		153	3
P. M. TR. P. III. COS. III. P. P. Sun looking l., otherwise as No. 182, no star in field			1
P. M. TR. P. III. COS. III. P. P. Sun walking l.		184	2
P. M. TR. P. III. COS. III. P. P. Victory flying l.		194	1
P. M. TR. P. III. COS. III. P. P. Elagabalus at altar		196	5
P. M. TR. P. V. COS. III. P. P. Providence standing as on 212			1
PROVID. DEORVM. Providence standing l., leaning on a column		244	2
SACERD. DEI SOLIS ELAGAB. Elagabalus at altar		246	4
SALVS ANTONINI AVG. Salus standing r.		258	1
SALVS AVGVSTI. Salus at altar l.		264	1
SECVRITAS SAECVLI. Security seated r.		271	1
SVMMVS SACERDOS AVG. Elagabalus at tripod		276	5
TEMPORVM FELICITAS. Felicity standing l.		282	3
VICTORIA AVG. Victory soaring l.		299	4
VICTORIA AVG. Victory marching l.		304	1
Uncertain			1
			—67

JULIA PAULA.

CONCORDIA. Concord seated l.	6	2
CONCORDIA. Elagabalus and Paula holding hands	12	1
VENVS GENETRIX. Venus seated l.	21	2
		—5

AQUILIA SEVERA.

CONCORDIA. Concord standing l., at altar	2	2
		—2

JULIA SOAEMIAS.

		Coben.	
VENVS CAELESTIS.	Venus standing l. (2 vars.)	8	7
VENVS CAELESTIS.	Venus seated l. . .	14	8
—15			

JULIA MAESA.

IVNO.	Juno standing l.	20	1
PIETAS AVG.	Piety standing l., at altar . . .	34	4
PVDICITIA.	Pudicitia seated l. . .	36	14
SAECVLI FELICITAS.	Felicity standing l., at altar	45	4
			—23

SEVERUS ALEXANDER.

ABVNDANTIA AVG.	Abundance standing r.	1	1
AEQVITAS AVG.	Equity standing l.	9	2
ANNONA AVG.	Abundance standing l., with <i>modius</i>	23	6
ANNONA AVG.	Abundance standing l., prow of vessel	27	2
ANNONA AVG.	Abundance standing l., with anchor	29	2
FIDES EXERCITVS.	Fides seated l.	49	1
FIDES MILITVM.	Fides seated l.	51	1
FIDES MILITVM.	Fides standing between two standards	52	3
IOVI CONSERVATORI.	Jupiter standing l.	70	2
IOVI PROPVGNATORI.	Jupiter walking r.	83	4
IOVI STATORI.	Jupiter standing facing, look- ing r.	92	3
IOVI VLTORI.	Jupiter seated l.	95	1
LIBERALITAS AVG.	Liberality standing l.	108	2
LIBERALITAS AVG.	LIBERALITAS AVG. IIII. Liberality stand- ing l.	133	1
LIBERTAS AVG.	Liberty standing l.	152	3
MARS VLTOR.	Mars marching r.	161	1
MARTI PACIFERO.	Mars standing l.	173	5
PAX AETERNA AVG.	Peace standing l.	183	2
PAX AVG.	Peace hurrying l.	187	3
PERPETVITATI AVG.	Security standing l.	191	2
P. M. TR. P. COS.	Mars standing l.	201	2
P. M. TR. P. COS.	Fortune standing l., star in field	201 <i>bis</i> 1	
Carried forward		50	

		Cohen.
Brought forward	.	50
P. M. TR. P. COS. P. P.	Jupiter standing l.	204
P. M. TR. P. COS. P. P.	Mars standing l.	207
P. M. TR. P. COS. P. P.	Liberty standing l.	215
P. M. TR. P. COS. P. P.	Salus seated l.	218
P. M. TR. P. II. COS. P. P.	Jupiter standing l.	229
P. M. TR. P. II. COS. P. P.	Mars standing l.	231
P. M. TR. P. II. COS. P. P.	Peace standing l.	236
P. M. TR. P. II. COS. P. P.	Salus seated l.	239
P. M. TR. P. III. COS. P. P.	Jupiter standing l.	249
P. M. TR. P. III. COS. P. P.	Mars standing l.	251
P. M. TR. P. III. COS. P. P.	Peace standing l.	254
P. M. TR. P. III. COS. P. P.	Alexander standing l.	256
P. M. TR. P. IIII. COS. P. P.	Alexander l. at altar	276
P. M. TR. P. V. COS. II. P. P.	Alexander l. at tripod	289
P. M. TR. P. VI. COS. II. P. P.	Mars walking l.	305
P. M. TR. P. VI. COS. II. P. P.	Equity standing l.	312
P. M. TR. P. VI. COS. II. P. P.	Peace running l.	319
P. M. TR. P. VI. COS. II. P. P.	Alexander at tripod	325
P. M. TR. P. VII. COS. II. P. P.	Mars walking l.	332
P. M. TR. P. VII. COS. II. P. P.	Mars standing r.	336
P. M. TR. P. VII. COS. II. P. P.	Peace running l.	348
P. M. TR. P. VII. COS. II. P. P.	Romulus hurrying r.	351
P. M. TR. P. VII. COS. II. P. P.	Emperor l. at tripod	357
P. M. TR. P. VIII. COS. II. P. P.	Mars standing r.	364
P. M. TR. P. VIII. COS. III. P. P.	Mars hurrying r.	365
P. M. TR. P. VIII. COS. III. P. P.	Liberty standing l.	371
P. M. TR. P. VIII. COS. III. P. P.	Sun standing l., with whip	388
P. M. TR. P. VIII. COS. III. P. P.	Sun standing l., holding globe	391
Carried forward	.	112

		Cohen.	
Brought forward		112	
P. M. TR. P. VIII. COS. III. P. P. Alexander standing r.		401	2
P. M. TR. P. XI. COS. III. P. P. The sun standing l.		427	1
P. M. TR. P. XIII. COS. III. P. P. The sun standing l.		448	2
PROVIDENTIA AVG. Providence standing l.		501	2
PROVIDENTIA AVG. Providence standing l., with anchor		508	1
PROVIDENTIA AVG. Providence standing l., var. of		512	1
SPES PVBLICA. Hope walking r.		543	6
SALVS PVBLICA. Salus seated l.		550	1
VICTORIA AVG. Victory standing l.		556	1
VICTORIA AVG. Victory walking r.		559	3
VICTORIA AVG. Victory running l.		563	1
VICTORIA AVGVSTI. Victory writing VOT. X on buckler		566	2
VIRTVS AVG. Valour standing r.		576	2
VIRTVS AVG. Valour seated l.		580	2
VIRTVS AVG. Romulus walking r.		584	1
VIRTVS AVG. Alexander standing l.		586	3
Uncertain		1	
		—144	

SALLUSTIA BARBIA ORBIANA.

CONCORDIA AVGG. Concord seated l.		1	3
	—3		

JULIA MAMAEA.

FECVND. AVGVSTAE. Fecundity standing l.	5	3
FECVND. AVGVSTAE. Fecundity seated l.	6	2
FELICITAS PVBLICA. Felicity standing l.	17	3
FELICITAS PVBLICA. Felicity seated l.	24	1
IVNO CONSERVATRIX. Juno standing l.	35	8
VENVS GENETRIX. Venus standing l., with Cupid	72	1
VENVS VICTRIX. Venus standing l.	76	1
VESTA. Vesta standing l.	85	11
	—30	

MAXIMINUS I.

		Cohen.	
FIDES MILITVM.	Fides standing l.	9	3
PAX AVGVSTI.	Peace standing l.	31	4
P. M. TR. P. II. COS. P. P.	Emperor standing l., between two standards	55	2
PROVIDENTIA AVG.	Providentia standing l.	77	4
SALVS AVGVSTI.	Salus seated l.	85	3
VICTORIA AVG.	Victory running r.	99	2
VICTORIA GERM.	Victory standing l.	107	1
			—19

MAXIMUS.

PRINCIPI. IVVENTVTIS.	Maximus standing l., two standards behind	10	1
			—1

GORDIANUS III. PIUS.

AETERNITATI AVG.	The sun standing l.	41	1
DIANA LVCIFERA.	Diana standing r.	69	1
FIDES MILITVM.	Fides between two standards	92	1
IOVI STATORI.	Jupiter facing, looking r.	109	2
LAETITIA AVG. N.	Laetitia standing with single cornucopiae l.	118	1
LIBERALITAS AVG. III.	Liberalitas standing, as	142	2
PAX AVGVSTI.	Peace standing l.	178 and 179	2
FIDES MILIT.	Fides l., holding an upright sceptre and standard transversely, not in Cohen		1
P. M. TR. P. II. COS. P. P.	Providentia standing l., with tripod	196	1
P. M. TR. P. II. COS. P. P.	Gordian standing l., as	210	2
P. M. TR. P. III. COS. P. P.	Gordian on horseback	234	1
P. M. TR. P. III. COS. II. P. P.	Apollo seated l.	250	1
P. M. TR. P. V. COS. II. P. P.	Gordian standing l.	266	2
SECVRIT. PERPET.	Security standing l.	328	3
SECVRITAS PVBLICA.	Security seated l.	340	1
VICTOR. AETER.	Victory standing l.	348	1
VIRTVTI AVGVSTI.	Hercules standing r.	404	2
			—25

PUPIENUS.

		Cohen.
P. M. TR. P. COS. II. P. P.	Felicity standing l., with caduceus	26 1 —1

PHILIPPUS I.

AEQVITAS AVGG.	Equity standing l., as but reading AVGG.	12 2
ANNONA AVGG.	Abundance standing l.	25 1
ROMAE AETERNAE.	Rome seated l.	165 1
SAECVLARES AVGG.	In exergue II Wolf and twins l.	178 1
SAECVLARES AVGG.	Cippus inscribed COS. III.	194 1
SECVRIT. ORBIS.	Security seated l.	215 1
VICTORIA AVG.	Victory marching l.	231 2 —9

PHILIPPUS II.

PRINCIPI I VVENT.	Caesar standing l.	48 1 —1
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TRAJANUS DECIUS.

DACIA.	Province standing r.	27 1
PANNONIAE.	The two Provinces standing	86 1
		—2

HERENNIA ETRUSCILLA.

PVDICITIA AVG.	Pudicitia standing l.	17 2 —2
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HERENNIUS ETRUSCUS.

CONCORDIA AVGG.	Two hands joined	4 1 —1
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As might be expected in the case of so extensive a deposit, there are a certain number of rare coins present, some of them of those whose coins are but seldom found

in Britain, and others presenting rare reverses of emperors whose coins are as a rule common.

It will be well to say a few words with regard to some of these scarcer pieces. The coins of Pertinax, in any metal, are of extremely rare occurrence in Britain, and none were present in the Lime Street¹ hoard found in 1881, the coins in which cover nearly the same period as those in the hoard now under consideration. Although the reign of Pertinax lasted rather less than the first three months of A.D. 193, a considerable variety of his coins was struck, and Cohen enumerates 59 types in gold, silver, and copper. The denarius with the type of Aequitas is among the more common of his silver coins (Pl. XIII. 1). The same type was used on some of his other coins, both in gold and bronze. It became a favourite device among the succeeding emperors, the moneymasters probably regarding it as complimentary to their justice in making the coins of full weight.

Among the coins of Severus some few call for remark. That with P. M. TR. P. VI. COS. II. P.P., and Fortune standing to the left, holding a rudder placed on a globe, and a cornucopiae on the reverse, does not occur in Cohen with IMP. X on the obverse. More interesting is the coin with the Emperor on horseback on the reverse, and the legend S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI (Pl. XIII. 2). This type occurs also in gold and bronze, in the latter case with the addition of S.C. to the legend, showing that it was struck in the Senatorial mint. Those in gold and silver were apparently struck in the Imperial mint, and as they all belong to the early part of the reign of Severus, they seem to indicate some

¹ *Num. Chron.*, Third Series, II., p. 57; III. p. 278.

decree of the Senate expressing its satisfaction at his having overcome his rivals Pescennius Niger and Clodius Albinus.

The coin with VICTOR. IVST. AVG. (Cohen, 738) is also worthy of notice. This, too, belongs to the year A.D. 193, or the beginning of the reign of Severus. The legend expanded would appear to be VICTORIAE IVSTI AVGVSTI. The title of Justus was assumed by Pescennius Niger, from whom Severus must have borrowed it. There are indeed silver coins of Pescennius with precisely the same type and legend.

The BONAE SPEI reverse is also one of those of Pescennius, whose hopes, however, were not so satisfactorily realised as those of Severus. The coin bearing it is scarce, and the Brickendonbury specimen differs from that in Cohen in not having II.CO. on the obverse (Pl. XIII. 3).

The coins of Julia Domna, the wife of Severus, present but little novelty. One, however, with the legend SAECVLI FELICITAS, presents the type of the Empress sacrificing at an altar as on the large brass coin with the same legend (Cohen, 178), and thus constitutes a variety not given by Cohen among the silver coins of Domna (Pl. XIII. 4).

Among the scarcer coins of Caracalla are those with MARTI VLTORI and VOTA SVSCEPTA X, but they can hardly be regarded as rare. That with PRO-FECTIO AVG. is somewhat rarer. It belongs to the year A.D. 213, and appears to refer to his expedition into Gaul (Pl. XIII. 5). A coin of the 14th year of his Tribinutian Power differs from Cohen, who gives the type for his 13th year only.

The coins of Plautilla, the wife of Caracalla, and of

Geta, his brother, though somewhat scarce, do not require any comment.

Diadumenianus, the son of Macrinus, is represented in the hoard by two coins, both of some degree of rarity, though the types are of an ordinary character. A specimen, with the PRINCEPS IVVENTVTIS reverse, was present in the Lime Street hoard (Pl. XIII. 6).

The coins of Elagabalus are among the most numerous in the hoard, and present several of the devices commemorative of the worship of the Syrian sun-god, from whose name that commonly given to this emperor has been adopted. On one of the coins, with the legend INVICTVS SACERDOS AVG., the Emperor is represented with what would appear to be a horn upon his head on the obverse, probably as an emblem of power. On the reverse another horn is sometimes shown at his feet, but the Hertford example varies somewhat from Cohen's description² (Pl. XIII. 7). For a notice of this rare coin Cohen may be consulted. The horned head of the Emperor occurs on a few coins of other types.

The only other coin of Elagabalus, to which attention may be called, is one reading P. M. TR. P. V. COS. IIII. P. P., with Providentia standing to the left holding a wand and cornucopiae; at her feet a globe. This is not described by Cohen, but the type of the reverse is the same as that of the large brass coin No. 212.

The coins of Julia Paula, though by no means common, present types already well known. Those of Aquilia Severa, another of the wives of Elagabalus, are of greater rarity, but in that case also there is no novelty about the device.

² *Med. Rom.*, Second Edition., IV., p. 329.



ROMAN COINS FOUND AT
BRICKENDONBURY, HERTFORD.



Those of Julia Soaemias, the sister of Julia Domna and daughter of Julia Maesa, are fairly numerous in the hoard, though hardly common coins.

Those of Julia Maesa, the clever grandmother of Elagabalus, are more numerous still, but require no comment.

A third of the hoard consists of coins of Severus Alexander, with a great variety of reverses, but among them none that can be classified as rare. Perhaps the most scarce is that with **FIDES EXERCITVS** (Cohen, No. 49). Of those with the legend **FIDES MILITVM** there were three examples, one with Fides seated, and two with Fides standing (Pl. XIII. 8).

The coins of his wife, Sallustia Barbia Orbiana, are certainly rare, but three specimens, with the reverse **CONCORDIA AVGG.**, were present (Pl. XIII. 9). There were none in the Limo Street hoard.

The coins of Julia Mamaea, the mother of Alexander, are numerous in the deposit, but none exhibit rare reverses.

The coins of Maximinus I are all of a common character, but that of his son Maximus is of considerable rarity, though it bears a device trite on the coins of the Cæsars, **PRINC. IVVENTVTIS** (Pl. XIII. 10).

The reverses on the coins of Gordianus Pius are for the most part common, but that of **DIANA LVCIFERA** is scarce, and seems more fitting for a coin of an empress than for one of an emperor (Pl. XIII. 11). That with **FIDES MILIT.** presents a variety not in Cohen.

The coin of Pupienus, the colleague of Balbinus, whose reign lasted but three months in A.D. 238, is rare, and moreover the coins of this emperor but seldom occur in

Britain, though two were present in the Lime Street hoard, already frequently mentioned (Pl. XIII. 12).

The coins of Philippus I are common, though those recording the Saecular Games on the thousandth anniversary of the foundation of Rome, with the wolf and twins, and what may be regarded as a *miliarium* rather than a *cippus*, are highly interesting.

The coin of Philippus II is rather scarce, but very well known. Those of Trajanus Decius, relating to his campaigns in Dacia and Pannonia, are interesting, but not rare, and those of his wife Etruscilla and his son Herennius close the list. They bear but ordinary devices upon them.

The coin of Herennius must have been struck in the year A.D. 249 or 250, as it gives his title as Caesar. He received the title of Augustus in A.D. 251, and together with his father was killed in battle near Abriicum, in Thrace, in that year.

The probability, therefore, is that the Brickendonbury hoard, which, so far as I know, includes no coins of Trebonianus Gallus, must have been deposited about A.D. 250 or 251. It consequently seems to have been buried at about the same time as that which was found in Lime Street, the coins in which extended from the days of Commodus to those of Trajanus Decius.³ In describing that hoard I remarked that "of what was taking place in Britain at the period when Decius, Gallus, Volusian, Aemilianus, and Valerian successively wore the purple, we know but little. This country was, however, in all probability cut off from all connection with any central authority, and its inhabitants left much

³ *Num. Chron.*, Third Series, II., p. 60. .

under their own government, such as it may have been."

But though history is silent, my friend Mr. Haverfield, of Christ Church, Oxford, has called my attention to the testimony of inscribed stones found in Britain, and from the inscriptions on mile-stones—which, by the way, seem to have been altered from time to time, so as to bear the name of the reigning emperor—the isolation does not appear to have been so complete as I supposed. The names of Gallus and Volusian⁴ occur together on mile-stones at Bittern, near Southampton, and at Greta-bridge, Yorkshire, and together with that of Decius on a stone at Castleford⁵ in the same county. Those of Gallus and Volusian are also recorded together in inscriptions on the Roman wall,⁶ and those of Valerianus, Gallienus, and Valerianus Caesar are found in an inscription at Caerleon.⁷

It would seem then that the government of Britain must have been carried on in the normal manner, until the revolt of Postumus, in A.D. 258, severed Gaul, and with it probably Britain, from the rest of the Roman Empire, and paved the way for the advancement of Victorinus, Marius, and the Tetrici, of whose reigns so many numismatic and other monuments still exist among us.

At the same time the correspondence in date between the Lime Street and the Brickendonbury hoards may be significant of the setting in of disturbances in Britain and of those "twenty years of shame and misfortune" to the

⁴ *Corp. Insc. Brit.*, 1148, 1182.

⁵ *Ephemeris*, VIII, 1104, 1105.

⁶ *C. I. B.*, 646, 949.

⁷ *C. I. B.* 107.

Roman Empire, of which Gibbon⁸ speaks, having already commenced in this country.

Nor are similar indications wanting in Northern Gaul. At Jupille,⁹ near Liége, in Belgium, in June, 1895, a still larger hoard of denarii than that of Brickendonbury was unearthed. Though a few of the earlier coins go back to the time of Nero and Vitellius, nearly half of them were struck under Severus Alexander, Maximinus, and Gordian III, the latest examined being of Philippus and Otacilia. The date assigned by Dr. Simonis for the deposit of this hoard is between A.D. 244 and 249, but there is no reason why it might not have been a year or two later.

Another hoard found near Luzy¹⁰ (Nièvre) must be of nearly the same date, the last coins in it being of Philippus I. and Otacilia.

JOHN EVANS.

⁸ *Decline and Fall*, Chap. X.

⁹ *Rev. Belge de Num.*, 1896., p. 128.

¹⁰ *Rev. Arch.*, XXXI., 1876, p. 436.

XIII.

A HOARD OF ROMAN COINS FOUND AT BISHOP'S WOOD, ROSS-ON-WYE.

(See Map, Plate XIV.)

In the spring of 1895 a large hoard of late Roman coins was discovered on the estate of Mr. M'Calmon, at Bishop's Wood, near Ross-on-Wye, a few yards on the Herefordshire side of the boundary between that county and Gloucestershire. The coins were found by some workmen who were getting surface stones to mend a road, and an accidental blow from a pick struck a large earthenware jar in which the coins had been placed, and scattered them in all directions. Two other jars lay in fragments beside it with the coins they had originally contained mixed with soil and débris. All had been enclosed by rough walling built against the hill-side, but if they had ever been covered by a stone, it had disappeared. The coins are all third brass of the Constantine series (except three single coins), and Captain Partridge (Mr. M'Calmon's agent) handed to me a box containing 17,550 coins, added to which there are a considerable number which I have been unable to examine, as they were found by school children and others early the next morning, before the men went to their work, and are now scattered about the neighbourhood.

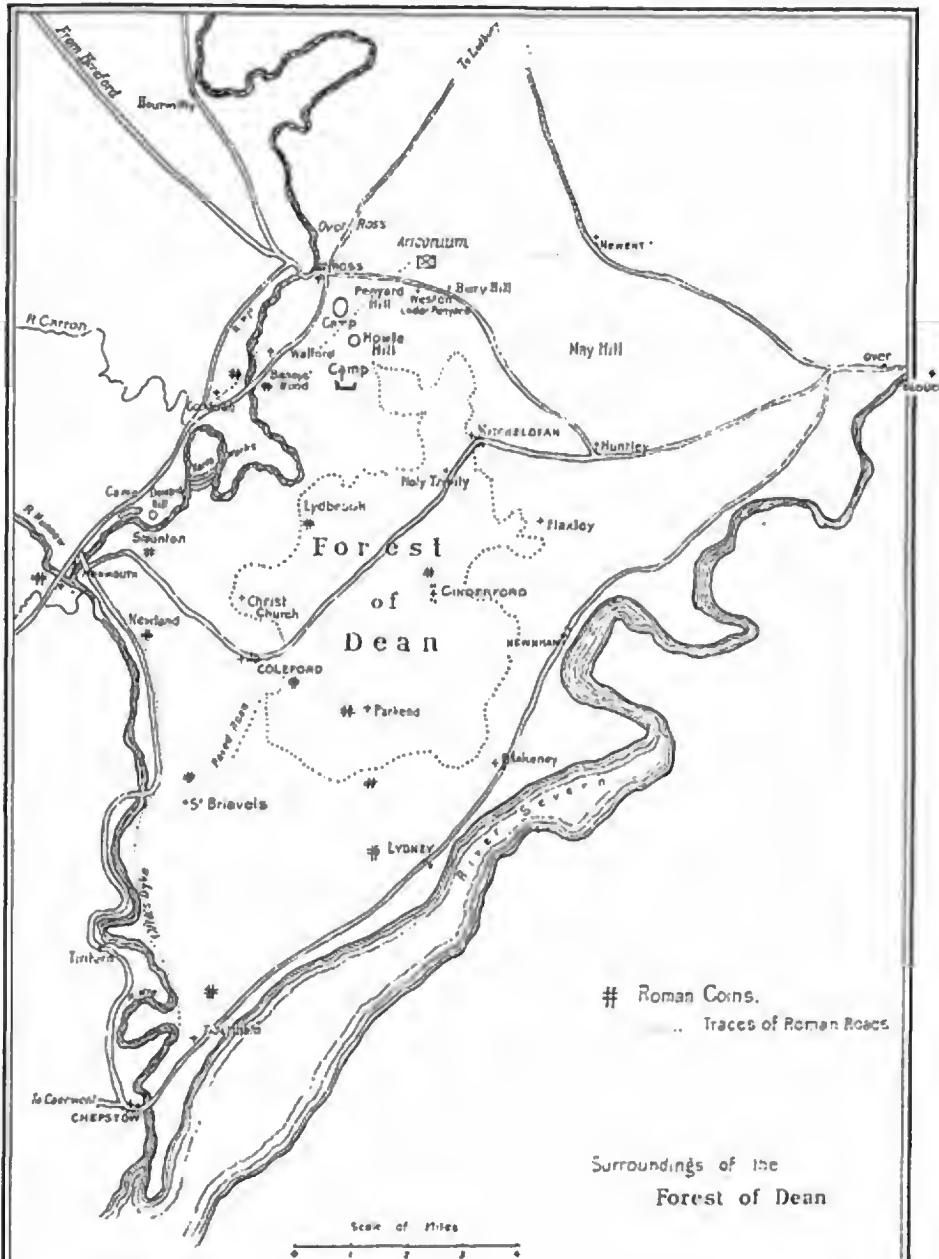
There have been, from time to time, a considerable number of "finds" of Roman coins in various parts of the

Forest of Dean, which may be accounted for in several ways. The large villa at Lydney Park was occupied for a long period ; and gold, silver, and brass coins have been found there in great quantities, ranging from the time of Augustus to the departure of the Romans from Britain.

In the mineral districts of the Forest many "finds" are recorded, mostly of small brass coins, which were probably intended for the pay of the miners, as they were all discovered either actually in the iron-workings, or closely adjacent to them.¹ None of these hoards contained coins later than Carausius and Allectus, and probably in the disturbed period which succeeded the rebellion of the usurpers, the Forest was not in a sufficiently peaceful state for the continued working of the mines. During the period of unrest which followed, many of the camps in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire were occupied by Roman soldiers, and coins of that date have been discovered in them, and it seems not unlikely that the Bishop's Wood² coins formed part of the contents of a military treasure-chest but recently arrived from the Continent, for all the coins are from foreign mints, principally Treves, Lyons, and Constantina (Arles). The spot where the hoard was deposited is near the village school, on steeply sloping ground, which rises from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet above the river Wye. The ground seems to have been artificially escarped on the east, where an ancient road passes in a deep hollow, and leads from the river towards Walford and the Great Howle Camp, which is two miles north-east of Bishop's

¹ *Num. Chron.*, Third Series, vol. ii., p. 52.

² Bishop's Wood is not in the Forest of Dean at the present time, but was so in the time of Edward I. See Map, Pl. XIV.



Surroundings of the Forest of Dean

H E Sheppard 1896.



Wood. A short distance up the stream is an old ford, where the ancient road from Drybrook comes out. Since the discovery of the coins, Mr. M'Calmon's workmen, who were employed in clearing the "Lodge Grove," came upon part of the fosse and vallum of a camp, which, from its rectangular form, was probably Roman, and a quantity of coarse Roman pottery was found within it. The surrounding bank was roughly built with small stones covered with earth; it was unfortunately at once levelled through ignorance of its origin, but the configuration of the ground shows where it was situated. About five miles to the north-east of Bishop's Wood is the site of Ariconium, which was the great station of the Roman iron manufactures of the district. The thirteenth Iter of Antoninus places Ariconium as the next station below Glevum, and from it the road proceeded to Blestium (Monmouth), across the beautiful country on the banks of the Wye, among hills which are in many places covered with ancient cinders. From Blestium the road continued to Burrium (Usk), and after a short stage the traveller arrived at the grand city of Isca (Caerleon), the headquarters of the second legion. Along so important a highway it is but natural that there should be many camps for defence, and soon after leaving Ariconium the ancient road passed between the strongholds of Penyard and Chase Wood, in and near both of which Roman coins have been found. After crossing the Wye at Goodrich, the road passes near two other large camps on the Great Doward and Little Doward, both of which command the Wye. The latter camp is evidently anterior to the Roman period, but it must have been occupied by the Romans for some considerable time, as many Roman coins and two swords were discovered there some years ago, and

there is an old iron-working at no great distance, where several Roman coins were found. A sketch-map is attached (see Pl. XIV.) to explain these remarks, and on it the position of the various camps is given with a fair degree of accuracy.

The following is a summary of the coins:—

Claudius II. (Gothicus)	.	.	.	1
Diocletianus	.	.	.	1
Maximianus I.	.	.	.	1
Helena	.	.	.	815
Theodora	.	.	.	271
Licinius I.	.	.	.	21
Licinius II.	.	.	.	7
Constantinus I.	.	.	.	2,455
,,	(Constantinopolis)	.	.	3,512
,,	(Urbs Roma)	.	.	4,214
Crispus	.	.	.	4
Delmatius	.	.	.	30
Constantinus II.	.	.	.	3,683
Constans	.	.	.	450
Constantius II.	.	.	.	2,201
Illegible	.	.	.	384
				17,550

The details of those of each kind follow.

CLAUDIUS II. (GOTHICUS).

Emperor, A.D. 268—270.

Type.		No. of Coins.
1.	Obv.—DIVO CLAVDIO OPTIMO IMP. Laureate head to right.	
	Rev.—REQVIES OPTIMOR. MERIT. Emperor veiled, seated l., right hand raised. In exergue, ? RS	1
	Total	1

Of unusual copper colour, and larger and thicker than usual. This is, of course, a posthumous coin, probably struck under Constantine the Great.

DIOCLETIANUS.

Emperor, A.D. 284; abdicated, A.D. 305; died, A.D. 313.

Type.	No. of Coins.
1. IMP. C. O. VAL. DIOCLETIANVS P.P. AVG.	
Radiate head to right.	
Rev.—CONCORDIA MILITVM. Jupiter presenting a Victory (who holds a palm-branch) to the Emperor. In exergue, ANT. In field, *	
Γ	1
Total	1

MAXIMIANUS I.

Emperor, A.D. 286—310.

Type.	No. of Coins.
1. Obv.—IMP. C. M. A. MAXIMIANVS AVG. Head with radiate crown to right.	
Rev.—CONCORDIA MILITVM. Jupiter presenting a Victory to Emperor, Λ below. In exergue, ALE	1
A large third brass, well executed.	
Total	1

HELENA.

Mother of Constantine the Great. Born, about A.D. 248, died, A.D. 328.

Type.	No. of Coins.
1. Obv.—FL. HELENA AVGVSTA. Diademed bust to right.	
Rev.—SECVRITAS REIPVBLICE (<i>sic</i>). Security l., holding palm-branch. In exergue, STRB PTRC	2
",	1
2. Obv.—FL. IVL. HELENAE AVG. Diademed bust r.	
Rev.—PAX PVBLICA. Peace standing l., holding olive-branch and transverse sceptre.	
In exergue, TRP	150
", TRS	63
", TRS Λ	1
With exergual letters illegible	98
Total	315

Of these, ten coins have + in field to the left with TRS, and four with + in field to the right with TRP.

The coins of Helena were struck under her son, Constantine the Great, those with her name in the dative case after her death. As she was a Christian, the title DIVA is not used.

THEODORA.

Second wife of Constantius I. Died, A.D. 328.

Type.		No. of Coins.
1. <i>Obv.</i> —FL. MAX. THEODORAE AVG.	Bust to right.	
<i>Rev.</i> —PIETAS ROMANA.	Piety or Theodora standing, holding an infant in her arms.	
In exergue TRP	· · · · ·	112
„ TRS (1 has \ddagger)	· · · · ·	73
Illegible mint-marks (of these, 4 have \ddagger in field on right)	· · · · ·	86
Total	· · · · ·	271

Most of these coins are of poor workmanship, and were probably struck by Constantine I. towards the end of his reign, and after Theodora's death.

LICINIUS I.

Emperor, A.D. 307—323.

Type.		No. of Coins.
1. <i>Obv.</i> —IMP. C. VAL. LICIN. LICINIVS P.F. AVG.	Radiate head to right.	
<i>Rev.</i> —IOVI CONSERVATORI.	Jupiter standing, sceptre in left, a Victory on right hand, and at his feet an eagle presenting wreath.	
	A captive on ground at left; \ddagger in field to left.	

Type.		No. of Coins.
	In exergue, SMNΔ SMNA}	15
	," SMKΓ	2
	," SMALP	3
2. Obv.—	IMP. LICINIUS P.F. AVG. Bust to right, laureate and draped.	
Rev.—	GENIO P(OP. RO)M. Genius, with modius on head, standing with cornucopiae in left, and patera in right. F in field. In exergue, PTR; below right hand, a small crescent	1
	Total	21

LICINIUS II.

Caesar, A.D. 315—326.

Type.		No. of Coins.
1. Obv.—	D.N. VAL. LICIN. LICINIUS NOB. C. Helmeted head l., spear in right hand.	
Rev.—	IOVI CONSERVATORI. Emperor standing l., spear in left; Victory in right; at feet eagle presenting wreath; captive on ground; at left, XX ^{III} In exergue, SMNA} SMNΓ	5
	Large well-struck third brass.	
	Exergual letter illegible	2
	Total	7

CONSTANTINUS I., THE GREAT.

Emperor, A.D. 306—337.

Type.		No. of Coins.
1. Obv.—	CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG. Head to r., with diadem.	
Rev.—	GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers with spears, leaning on shields	2,396

There are many varieties, chiefly consisting in the Mint Marks, as shown in the following table.

Minta.	No. of Coins.	Varieties.
AQP	6	Aquileia.
AQS	5	Some have a cross between standards.
CONS	1	
CONST	29	Constantina (Arles).
S or P CONST	436	Some of these have a star above standards.
CONSA	2	
CONSB	1	Constantinopolis.
R · S	2	Rome.
RQS	2	"
RQP	12	"
RBP	18	"
RFP	6	"
ASIS	22	Siscia.
BSIS	7	"
ESIS	3	"
SIS*	2	"
SMNA	5	Nicomedia.
SMNB	4	"
SMNE	1	"
SMNT	1	"
SMBA	1	
SMKA	2	Carthage.
SMKE	3	"
SMHA	5	Heraclea.
SMTSA	14	Thessalonica.
SLC	11	Lyons.
·SLC	23	"
·SLC	9	"
·SLC	1	"
SLC*	10	" Star of eight points.
*SLC	2	"
TRP	409	Treves. These have always a wreath or palm-branch between standards.
TRA*	43	"
TRP	2	"
TRP	328	Two standards.
·TRP	12	Small coins with one standard between two soldiers.
TR · P	179	"
·TRS	3	"
	1,622	

Brought forward—

TRS	1,622	Treves. These have always a wreath or palm-branch between standards.
TRS.	350	"
TR·S	4	"
TR·S	28	"
TRS*	21	"
PLC	114	Lyons.
PLC	53	"
PLC	28	"
PLC*	29	"
	2,249	
	147	Illegible exergual letters.
Total	2,396	

Of the above there are several varieties.

3—CONST	34	* on labarum between soldiers; small bronze with m. m. mostly illegible. Of these, four have a cross below labarum, thus 
5—PLC		† on ground between standards.
2—SLC		† on labarum (one has a cross on the top).
AQP	4	* above standards.
AQS		
8 CONST	3	
TRP		
P CONST	61	
S CONST		
P CONST	29	‡ oak-leaf between standards, or 
S CONST		
S. CONST	2	F between soldiers in field.
"	2	Spear-heads end in crosses.
"	1	* in field.

Type.		No. of Coins.
	Brought forward	2,396
2. <i>Obv.</i> —CONSTANTINVS AVG. Helmet and cuirass.		
<i>Rev.</i> —BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. Altar, with VOT XX; glebe above. STA <u>U</u> , PTR .		2
Carried forward		2,398

Type.		No. of Coins.
	Brought forward	2,398
3. <i>Obv.</i> —CONSTANTINVS AVG. Laureate head to right.		
<i>Rev.</i> —PROVIDENTIAE AVGG. Praetorian gate. Some have one, others three stars. PTR• STR STR•	5	
4. <i>Obv.</i> —CONSTANTINVS AVG. Laureate head to right.		
<i>Rev.</i> —SARMATIA DEVICTA. Victory with palm-branch, standing over captives, STR STR• PTR	2 2 2	
Large, good coins. Constantine conquered the Sarmatians in A.D. 322.		
5. <i>Obv.</i> —IMP. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Laureate head to right.		
<i>Rev.</i> —SOLI INVICTO COMITI. The Sun walking to left; in field, FT, AS, RS. In exergue, PTR PLC		
As above, M·S in field. In exergue, PLC.	6	
6. <i>Obv.</i> —IMP. CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG. Helmeted bust to right with cuirass; helmet with wreath.		
<i>Rev.</i> —VICTORIAE (? LAET. PRINC. PERP.). Two Victories placing a buckler on an altar	1	
7. <i>Obv.</i> —CONSTANTINVS AVG. Helmeted head, face to r.		
<i>Rev.</i> —Illegible. Two winged Victories holding shield, inscribed VOT X?	1	
Very rude coins. One coin exactly similar to above, with face looking left	2	
8. <i>Obv.</i> —Same type as No. 2.		
<i>Rev.</i> —VIRTVS AVGVSTI. Constantine, with spear and shield	1	
Carried forward		2,420

Type.		No. of Coins.
	Brought forward	2,420
9. <i>Obv.</i> —CONSTANTINVS AVG. Laureate head r. Large coin.		
<i>Rev.</i> —CONSTANTINI AVG. Round the in- scription, VOTIS XX. In exergue, P L S		1
10. <i>Obv.</i> —Same type as No. 2.		
<i>Rev.</i> —(VIRTV)S EXERCIT. Two captives on ground, under banner, which is inscribed, [VOT XX]		2
11. <i>Obv.</i> —Head of Constantine laureate r., without legend.		
<i>Rev.</i> —CONSTANTINVS AVG. In three lines; wreath above. In exergue, STR.		5
Total	2,428	

CONSECRATION COINS.

12. <i>Obv.</i> —DIVVS or DIV. CONSTANTINVS PT. AVGG. Veiled head to right.		
<i>Rev.</i> —Constantine in a quadriga, holding out a hand to meet a large hand coming from the clouds. PLC	1	
TRP	13	
TRS	6	
—	20	
13. <i>Obv.</i> —DIVO CONSTANTINO. Veiled head to right.		
<i>Rev.</i> —PIETAS AETERNA. Constantine stand- ing; helmet and paludamentum; spear in right, globe in left; N above. One coin has P above globe. PCONST SCONST	7	
Total	2,455	

CONSTANTINOPOLIS.

Obv.—Helmeted bust of city personified, with hasta
pura on her shoulders.

Rev.—A Victory, standing with right foot on prow of vessel, and holding transverse sceptre, and leaning on shield.

Mlets.	No. of Coins	Varieties.
AQP	5	
AQS	8	
P. CONST	169	
S.CONST	40	
PLC	144	
· PLC	195	
*PLC	58	
⊕PLC	154	
ΩPLC.	1	
SLC	23	
· SLC	21	
⊕SLC	12	
*SLC	2	
BSIS	27	
SMKA	1	
SMKB	1	Spear behind head on obverse ends in a cross, †.
SMKE	3	
SMKS	1	
SMKI	1	
SMNA	10	
SMNB	1	
SMTSA	6	
?SKANI	1	
RBE	26	
RFE	8	
RBO?	1	
RQS	2	
RΩE	20	
TRP	548	All these have wreath or palm-branch.
TRP.	448	
TRP*	168	
TR·P	188	
TRS	425	All these have wreath or palm-branch.
TRS*	151	
TR·S	167	
	376	Illegible exergual letters.
		3,512

There are several varieties of the Constantinopolis coins:—

PCONST	6	P in field, on left. This type was introduced at the dedication of Constantinople, 330, but issued at Constantina (Arles).
S. CONST		
AQP	2	F in field, to left. Same reversed.
AQS.		
P. CONST	1	U in field, to left.
S. CONST		
TRP.	548	Wreath with ends.
TRS	425	" "
AQS	15	*
S. & P. CONST	19	Leaf in field.
R  e	20	Sceptre on obverse ends in † cross thus, on some coins, or †.
SMKB	6	Shield has cross of dots, thus ∴. P. & S. CONST. PLC.
AQS.		
		One coin has Constantinopolis on the obverse, and the wolf and twins on the reverse. Rather rude. In exergue, TR. S. Large III AE.

URBS ROMA.

Obv.—Helmeted head of Roma to left.

Rev.—The wolf and twins.

Mints.	No. of Coins.	Varieties.
AQP	21	Good coins. Large third brass.
AQS	18	"
CONS	16	Four of these have * after.
CONSIN or III	3	
P. CONST	119	All the * are of these mints.
S. CONST	164	
PLC	142	
	483	Carried forward.

Mints.	No. of Coins. Brought forward	Varieties.
	483	
*PLC	111	
·PLC	269	
⊕PLC	221	
⊕PLC	18	
RBC	31	
RFC	14	
RQC	13	Some have a wreath with ends between R and C.
R*C	4	
SLC	38	
⊕ SLC	1	
SLC ·	7	
*SLC	64	
⊕SLO	26	
·SLO	69	
SIS	1	
ASIS	5	
TSIS	28	
θSIS	3	
·SIS ·	1	
SMKA	4	
SMKB	1	
SMKS?	2	
SMHE	10	
SMHS	4	
SMNE	2	These have * : * over wolf.
SMRS	1	
SMRE	2	
SMTSE	12	
SMAE?	1	
SMALK	1	
SMALA	2	
TRP	506	These without other marks have always wreath or palm-branch on reverse.
TR · P	234	These have two stars above wolf.
TRP ·	371	
TRP*	147	Star of eight points.
? TQS	1	
TRS	615	Without any other mark, have wreath or palm-branch on reverse.
TRS ·	521	
TRS*	141	
TR · S	229	
	4,214	Total.

There are several varieties of the reverse with wolf and twins.

P. CONST	10	P with star of eight points on each side of monogram and above wolf. This type was introduced at the dedication of Constantinople, 330. Struck at Arles (Constantina).
S. CONST	12	
S. CONST & } P. CONST } 1211		Wreath between stars. Palm-branch between stars.
P. CONST S. CONST } 22		Oak-leaf between stars.
P. CONST } 20		Branch of various forms between stars.
S. CONST } 4		Three stars above wolf. Two stars above wolf.
SMNE 1		U between stars.
SMNE 2		* : *
		One coin of Urbs Roma has a reverse of the common Constantinopolis coins. Victory marching with spear and shield.

CRISPUS.

Caesar, A.D. 317—326.

Type.		No. of Coins.
1. <i>Obv.</i> —CRISPVS NOB. CAES. Small head, laureate, to right.		
<i>Rev.</i> —BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. Altar, with VOTIS XX; in field, C P. In exergue, PLC	1	
2. <i>Obv.</i> —Same. Large head, laureate, to right.		
<i>Rev.</i> —CAESARVM NOSTRORVM. Within wreath, VOT X. In exergue. A(?)TRP .	1	
3. <i>Obv.</i> —IVL. CRISPVS NOB. C. Large head, laureate, to right.		
<i>Rev.</i> —Same as No. 2	1	
4. <i>Obv.</i> —D.N. FL. IVL. CRISPVS NOB. CAES.		
<i>Rev.</i> —IOVI CONSERVATORI CAESS. Jupiter standing; a Victory in his right hand,		

	No. of Coins.
hasta in his left; captive on ground to left, eagle holding wreath on right. In field X ₁ In exergue, SMK	1
Total	4

DELMATIUS.

Caesar, A.D. 335—337.

Type.		
1. <i>Obv.</i> —FL. DELMATIVS NOB. C. Head to right; hair bound with fillet.		
<i>Rev.</i> —GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers with ensign. In exergue, B. SIS	1	
2. <i>Obv.</i> —FL. DELMATIVS NOB. CAES. Lau- reated head to right.		
<i>Rev.</i> —GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers hold- ing spears, and leaning on shields; two standards between them. TRP. TRS	2	
3. <i>Obv.</i> —Same as No. 1.		
<i>Rev.</i> —Same legends, but between standards  , prob- ably an oak-leaf. In exergue, P CONST (large third brass)	1	
4. Same as No. 2, with palm-branch instead of oak- leaf	1	
5. <i>Obv.</i> —Same.		
<i>Rev.</i> —Two soldiers, as before, with one standard; in exergue, TRS	19	
6. <i>Obv.</i> —Same as No. 1.		
<i>Rev.</i> —Between soldiers the labarum, with  , and  at top of spear. In exergue, P. CONST	5	
7. Same as No. 6, but the labarum is carried on a spear, which has a cross below it  ; in exergue C.CONST.	1	
Total	30	

CONSTANTINUS II.

Caesar, A.D. 317; Augustus, A.D. 337-340.

Type.

1. *Obv.*—CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Bust to right, laureate and draped.*Rev.*—GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers standing, holding spears and shields; between them a standard.

Minta.	No. of Coins.	Varieties.
AQP	4	
AQS	10	
CONST	2	
CONSE	1	
P. CONST	106	
S. CONST	228	Eight of these have palm-branch on the ground between soldiers. All have two standards.
PLG	194	
·PLG	150	
⊕PG	187	
*PLG	89	
·PLG	27	Only one standard or banner.
PLG⊕	4	
RET	3	
RFT	7	
RBP	3	
RFS	18	
RBS	55	
R·S	2	
RΩS	23	} On some there is a wreath between R and S or R and T.
RΩT	13	
RBT	8	
SIS	11	
ASIS	2	
BSIS	1	
€SIS	13	
ΔSIS	5	
*SIS	3	
·SIS	2	
SLG	33	
·SLG	71	
⊕SLG	70	
*SLG	66	
·SLG	18	
		1,429 Carried forward.

Mints.	No. of Coins. Brought forward 1,429	Varieties.
SLG	10	
SMANZ	2	
SMHA	2	
SMHB	1	
SMHF	4	
SMKA	8	
SMKB	4	
SMKF	1	
SMKA	1	
SMKE	9	
SMNA	1	
SMNB	6	
SMNE	3	
SMNZ	1	
SMNS	4	} May be same letter.
SMTSA	3	
SMTSB	6	
SMTSF	1	
SMTSE	1	
TRP	284	All these have wreath or palm-branch.
TRP.	282	
TR · P	144	
·TRP·	67	All small coins, only one standard.
TRP*	55	
TRP*	21	Small, one standard.
*TRP	32	
TRS	418	All these have wreath or palm-branch.
TRS.	280	
·TRS·	99	Small coins, only one standard.
TR · S	138	
TRS*	120	
TRS*	5	
	230	Exergual letters illegible.
Total . .	3,672	Of these coins 24 have  on labarum.
		" 1 "  "
		" 2 " + "
		" 10 " * between standards.
		" 6 "  "

Type.		No. of Coins.
	Brought forward	3,672
2. <i>Obv.</i> —Youthful head of Constantine to left, without legend.		
<i>Rev.</i> —CONSTANTINVS CAESAR, in four lines across the field; star above. In exergue, P.		1
3. <i>Obv.</i> —CONSTANTINVS IVN. AVG. Head to left laureate.		
<i>Rev.</i> —BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. Altar, with VOTIS XX. In exergue, PLC		1
4. <i>Obv.</i> —CONSTANTINVS IVN. NOB. C. Head to left.		
<i>Rev.</i> —CAESARVM NOSTRORVM DOMI? Within a garland is VOT V. In exergue B S?		1
5. Same, but VOT X		1
6. <i>Obv.</i> —Same.		
<i>Rev.</i> —PROVIDENTIA CAESS. Praetorian gate with star above. In exergue, STP		1
7. <i>Obv.</i> —Same.		
<i>Rev.</i> —VIRTVS AVGG. Praetorian gate with four turrets. In exergue ARLS		1
8. <i>Obv.</i> —FL. IVL. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Head to left laureate. ³		
<i>Rev.</i> —SECVRITAS AVG. Security with hasta in right hand, leaning on column. In exergue, F(?) T S		1
9. Same, but large head, of different type		1
10. <i>Obv.</i> —CONSTANTINVS AVG. Head to left, laureate.		
<i>Rev.</i> —Victory marching, with spear hung on shield (the common reverse of Constantinopolis)		1
		3,681
Uncertain		2
Total		3,683

³ *Ed. Note.*—This may be a coin of Constantius II.; the obv. legend reading CONSTANTIVS, not CONSTANTINVS.

CONSTANS.

Caesar, A.D. 333; Augustus, A.D. 337-350.

Type.

1. *Obv.* FL. IVL. CONSTANS AVG. Bust to right, laureate and draped.*Rev.*—GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers standing, with spears and shields; between them two standards.

Mints.	No. of Coins.	Varieties.
AQS	2	
? C	2	
CONS	13	
P. CONS	6	
S. CONS	20	
PLC	4	
PLC	7	
OPLO	1	
*PLC	5	
SLC	5	
*SLC	10	
TRP	93	All have wreath or palm-branch between soldier.
TRP	4	
TRL	11	Small coins, with only one standard.
TRP	5	
TRS	98	All have wreath or palm-branch between soldier.
TRS	26	
BSIS	2	
R · P	1	
BET	4	
RΩP	3	
SMAB	2	
?SARI	2	
*SLC	1	
TRSC	2	These have a diadem on head.
TRS	1	Only one standard. Obverse has CONSTANS AVG.
	109	Illegible mints.
	439	Carried forward.

The labarum or standard held by the soldiers on the coins with this reverse has various devices—ꝝ, +, H,

M, O, C, Y, N, &c.; and sometimes a star and sometimes an oak-leaf is to be seen between the standards.

Type.		No. of Coins.
	Brought forward	439
2. <i>Obv.</i> —CONSTANS P.F. AVG.	Head to right, with diadem.	
<i>Rev.</i> —GLORIA EXERCITVS.	Two soldiers; one standard. TRS TRP	2
3. <i>Obv.</i> —CONSTANS AVG.	Diademed bust to right.	
<i>Rev.</i> —VICTORIAE DD. NN.	Two Victories, with wreath between them. In field, ♦ TRP TRS	3 1
4. <i>Obv.</i> —FL. IVL. CONSTANS AVG.	Bust to right, diademed and draped.	
<i>Rev.</i> —VIRTVS AVGG. NN.	Emperor standing to right, holding spear, and with shield resting on the ground. TRP . . TRS . .	2 2
5. <i>Obv.</i> —FL. IVL. CONZTANS.	Diademed bust to right.	
<i>Rev.</i> —Same as No. 2.	TRS. Very rude coin .	1
	Total	450

CONSTANTIUS II.

Caesar, A.D. 323; Augustus, A.D. 337-361.

Type.	
1. <i>Obv.</i> —FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. CAES.	Bust to right, laureate and draped.
<i>Rev.</i> —GLORIA EXERCITVS.	Two soldiers, with spears and shields between them; one or two standards.

Mints.	No. of Coins.	Varieties.
AQP	6	
AQS	6	
CONS	9	Good coins.
P CONST	19	" "
S CONST	210	" "
PLC	104	Coins small, have mostly Christian emblems.
•PLC	67	
*PLC	23	
PLC.	1	Several others in bad condition may have this mark.
•PLC	86	
RBS	1	
RBT	2	
R*S	4	
RGS	1	
RFT	9	
RST	1	
SIS	2	
•SIS	2	
ASIS.	10	
•ASIS	14	
ESIS	6	
TSIS	9	
•SIS.	3	
SLC	12	
•SLC	11	
*SLC	15	
•SLC	4	
SMANZ	2	
SMALA	1	
SMHA	2	
SMHF	1	
SMKE	3	
SMKA	1	
SMNA	1	
•SMNE	1	
SMTSA	5	
SMTSF	12	
TRP	93	All have a wreath or palm-branch between standards.
•TRP	12	
•TRP.	33	Small, poor coins, only one standard.
	804	Carried forward.

Mints.	No. of Coins. Brought Forward	
	804	
TRP ·	170	
TRP *	13	
TRP *	26	
TR · P	83	
TRS	291	All have wreath or palm-branch be- tween standards.
TRS ·	185	
· TRS	8	
· TRS ·	31	Small, poor coins, only one standard.
TRS *	45	
TRS *	36	
TS · S	96	
	405	Illegible exergual letters.
	2,193	

Among the above there are the following varieties:—

		No. of Coins.
1. Leaf, between standards.	S CONST	4
2. * " "	All S CONST	3
	P CONST	
3. Wreath with ends.	See TRS & TRP.	
	Large, good coin	
4. Branch " "	See TRS — TRP.	
	Large good coin	
5. * on labarum.	P CONST. Small, poor coin	5
6. + " "	TRS.	9
	P CONST	
7. * in field.	S CONST.	1
8. F in field.	" "	1
9. + on ground, between soldier.	AQS	2

Type.

2. *Obv.* — FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS NOB . C.
Laureate bust to left.

Rev. — PROVIDENTIA CAESS. Praetorian
gate; above, a star. In exergue, STPE? 1

3. *Obv.* — Same as 2. Emperor wearing the palu-
damentum 1

Carried forward 2,195

Type.		No. of Coins.
	Brought forward	2,195
4. <i>Obv.</i> —FL. IVL.CONSTANTIVS AVG. Laureate head to right.		
<i>Rev.</i> —VIRTVS AVGG. NN. Virtus, with spear and shield. In exergue, TRP	3	
5. <i>Obv.</i> —Same as 4.		
<i>Rev.</i> —Emperor with spear in left, Victory on right hand; two captives on ground	1	
6. <i>Obv.</i> —Same.		
<i>Rev.</i> —SECVRITAS REIP. Security, standing	1	
7. <i>Obv.</i> —Same.		
<i>Rev.</i> —Victory marching with spear and shield (like Constantinopolis reverse)	1	
Total	2,201	

There are many examples of careless workmanship upon these coins. On some of them two impressions of the same device and legend intersect one another; on others the obverse is perfect, while the reverse is un-stamped, or stamped with an incuse representation of the same subject. A few have blundered spellings; thus, *Constantis* and *Constantus* for Constantius, and on several the letters in the exergue are reversed. Two of the coins of Urbs Roma have the usual reverse of Constantinopolis (Victory marching), while one of Constantine II. and one of Constantius II. have the same reverse. It would almost appear that different mints used different metal, or mixture of metals, for their money, for of some every coin is rusty and in bad order, notably those of the Licinii struck at Nicomedia, while others are all bright and fresh, particularly those of Constantina. On the whole they are in an excellent state of preservation, and many

are as sharp as on the day they were issued from the mint.

In this hoard there is an interesting series of coins bearing Christian symbols and devices. They were struck at that period of Roman history when pagan deities, hitherto represented upon the reverses of the current money, were being replaced by historical subjects and Christian symbols. This change probably began about A.D. 312, when Constantine the Great avowed himself a Christian, but pagan reverses are found later from some mints than from others. Whether the account given by Eusebius of the cross which appeared in heaven be the real cause of the Emperor's conversion or not, it must have been a mighty influence which induced the ruler of the Roman people to place the sign of the despised Jesus of Nazareth upon the sacred banner of pagan Rome, and upon the money which was to circulate through the known world. The description of the labarum itself, with the sacred sign upon it, accords in every particular with the banner represented upon some of those coins, and different forms of the ✸ and of the actual cross occur upon some reverses of nearly all the series.

COINS WITH CHRISTIAN EMBLEMS.

HELENA.

(Restoration), A.D. 328.

	No. of Coins.
<i>Rev.</i> —PAX PVBLICA. Peace standing to left, holding olive-branch right, long sceptre in left. In field, to left, ✸	10
In field to right. All TRP. TRS. . . .	4
Total	14

(Mostly small and poor coins.)

THEODORA.

(Restoration.)

	No. of Coins.
<i>Rev.</i> —PIETAS . ROMANA. Piety standing, holding an infant. In field, to right, \ddagger . TRP. TRS.	7
Total	7
(Small, poor coins.)	

None of these coins bear the title DIVA.

CONSTANTINE I.

(Issued between 335—337.)

<i>Rev.</i> —GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers standing, holding spears, and leaning on shield; between them the labarum, on which is \ddagger . In exergue, P. CONST. S. CONST., PLC., SLC.	34
(All small coins.)	

<i>Rev.</i> —Same, but \ddagger in field	2
Total	36
<i>Rev.</i> —Same, with \ddagger on labarum. P. CONST . .	2
" " \ddagger on spear-head. TRP. . .	1
" " \ddagger . All PLC	4
Total	7

Type.	(Issued A.D. 337.)	
1. \ddagger on ground between soldiers. AQS AQP . . .	2	
2. Same, but with this cross \ddagger . AQS . . .	2	
3. Same, but with labarum between soldiers, with \ddagger on labarum. P. CONST S. CONST PLC & SLC }	34	

This monogram does not occur on coins struck at Rome till after 340.

(All small, poor coins.)

Type.		No. of Coins.
4.	Same, but with \times in field above . . .	1
5.	Same, with \times on labarum . . .	3
	One of these coins has small crosses on top of spears (labarum). P. CONST. TRP.	
6.	Same, with \times on labarum. PLC . . .	4

Some of the spear-heads of coins of this type end in crosses.

The letter X is much enlarged on many coins with the legend **GLORIA EXERCITVS**.

CONSTANTINE I.

Consecration Coins.

1.	<i>Obv.</i> —DIVVS or DIV. CONSTANTINVS PT. AVGG. Veiled head of Emperor.	
	<i>Rev.</i> —Quadriga, driven by the anima of Constantine, who holds out his hand to meet another large hand issuing from the clouds. PLC	1
	TRP	13
	TRS	6
	Total	20

2.	<i>Obv.</i> —DIVO CONSTANTINO Voiled head of Emperor.	
	<i>Rev.</i> —AETERNA PIETAS. Emperor, with helmet and paludamentum, standing, spear in right, globe in left, below which is σ above N. P. CONS	6
	S. CONS	
3.	Same as above, with σ above globe. In exergue, S. CONS	1

DELMATIUS.

1.	<i>Rev.</i> —GLORIA EXERCITVS Usual type. Labarum with \times . P. CONST . . .	3
	Large S. CONST . . .	2
	Small PLC . . .	1
	Total	6

Type.		No. of Coins.
2. <i>Rev.</i> —Same, but there is a cross below the labarum. TRS		3

Issued after 335, as Delmatius was made Caesar that year.

CONSTANTINE II.

1. <i>Rev.</i> —GLORIA EXERCITVS. Usual type. The labarum with ✽. One coin has ♀ S.LC.	24
2. <i>Obv.</i> —Same as 1. <i>Rev.</i> —Same, with ✽ or + on labarum	2
5. <i>Obv.</i> —Same. <i>Rev.</i> —Same, but has ✽ between soldiers, near exergual line. AQS	2

CONSTANS.

1. <i>Rev.</i> —GLORIA EXERCITVS. Usual type, the labarum with ✽. ✽ on one coin. P. CONST S. CONST	24
2. <i>Rev.</i> —Same as 1, but ✽ of this form. PLC	1
3. Same, except ✽ and ✽ on labarum	6
5. Same, except cross below ✽	2

Many of the coins of Constans have the X in EXERCITVS much enlarged and placed exactly between the standards (above), see *Num. Chron.*, vol. xvii., p. 264.

CONSTANTIUS II.

1. <i>Rev.</i> —GLORIA EXERCITVS. Usual type. In the field ✽. The spear-heads end in small crosses. S. CONST	1
2. Same, with ✽ on labarum. S. CONST	5
3. Same, with ♀ on labarum. PLC	1
4. Same, with ♀. SLC	1
5. Same, with cross below ✽. PLC	2
6. Same, on labarum ✽. TRP. TRS	9

On some coins the X in EXERCITVS is not only much enlarged, but has expanded ends.

CONSTANTINOPOLIS.

1. <i>Rev.</i> —Usual type. In field, to left ✽. All P. CONS and AQS	10
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

Type.	No. of Coins.
3. <i>Obv.</i> —Same as 1, but with spear instead of sceptre	1
4. <i>Obv.</i> —Same as 1, but the sceptre has a cross at top, †. SMKB	16
5. <i>Obv.</i> —Same.	
<i>Rev.</i> —Shield has a cross on it, thus ∴ (three varieties)	6

URBS ROMA.

<i>Rev.</i> —Wolf and twins; above, the X between two stars with eight rays. In exergue, P. CONST & S. CONST	22
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

This type (like the last) was introduced at the time of the dedication of Constantinople, A.D. 330, but struck at Constantina (Arles). See *Num. Chron.*, 1887, p. 270.

There is one rather remarkable circumstance about this hoard, viz., that among the 17,550 coins of which it is composed, only four coins of Crispus are present. This comparative absence of his coins may possibly arise from the fact that Crispus was put to death in A.D. 326, whereas the deposit of the hoard cannot have taken place until well after the year 337, when Constans and Constantius II. received the title of Emperor, inasmuch as many coins of both which occurred in the hoard bear the title of Augustus.

In a hoard of from 2,000 to 3,000 small brass coins found at Haresfield Beacon on August 19, 1837, only 12 coins of Crispus were present, those of Helena, Theodora, Constantinus I. and II., Constantinopolis, Urbs Roma, Fausta, Delmatius, Constans, and Constantius II., constituted the remainder. This deposit must have been buried at much the same time as that of Bishop's Wood.

MARY E. BAGNALL-OAKELEY.

XIV.

NOTES ON A FIND OF ROMAN COINS NEAR CADBURY CAMP (CLEVEDON), SOMERSETSHIRE.

SOMERSETSHIRE has contributed largely to the list of Roman remains discovered in this country, but though this western division cannot boast of any great find in recent years, as some of the other counties, it may possibly claim to have yielded as interesting a variety; and this remark particularly applies to the coinage of that nation.

The Society is fully cognisant of the various finds described in the several histories of Bristol and Somersetshire; as also in the Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological Society; but it is, perhaps, only locally known that many smaller discoveries have been made in recent times, though unfortunately the specimens have been scattered without record. In most cases this has doubtless been due to ignorance, on the part of the finder, of the interest attached to them.

It is desirable that even the smallest find should be recorded in some detail, as the presence of a single specimen often gives the pith of the history in connection with a discovery; and the little hoards that every now and then turn up shed much light upon the occupation of the various parts of this island, which, though continuous, was often interrupted by warfare, as must have been the case at Cadbury Camp, where the coins now described

were buried, in all probability, early in the fourth century.

Appended to this paper (List A) is a detailed list of thirty-five Roman "third brass" coins, which came into my possession in the autumn of 1891, and were discovered by a labourer whilst digging near Cadbury Camp.

I was frustrated, at the time, in obtaining a direct clue to the exact spot, but from inquiries which I then made, and carefully followed up, I have no hesitation in saying that the coins were dug up in the upper part of the Wynhol estate, which is in the parish of Clapton-in-Gordano, and situate about a third of a mile from the Camp, on the west side, and at the top of what is known as Tiekenham Hill.

These coins only cover a period of fifty years, representing twelve Emperors, from Gallienus to Constantius Chlorus¹ (A.D. 253—305); which evidently points to the fact that the find comprised the current coins of the time; the latest coin probably fixing the approximate date of burial.

As a whole the coins are good specimens, several being in excellent preservation, whilst three are of unusual interest. I refer to Nos. 28, 31, and 34, those of Diocletian, Maximian, and Carausius.

These each bear on their reverse the legend, PAX AVGGGG—with the three Gs (three emperors)—and in the exergue, M.L.XXI., denoting that the money was minted at London.

¹ It is interesting to note that during the excavations of the Roman villa at Wemberham, near Yatton (in 1884), five miles from Cadbury, twenty-one coins were discovered, extending over almost the identical period; no detailed list has as yet been published, but I may mention that the earliest was Gallienus and the latest Constantine the Great.

Coins of Carausius, with the three Gs, have frequently been found in England, but those of Diocletian and Maximian are but rarely met with, and appear to have been minted by order of Carausius, after his landing in Britain; and, as Akerman so clearly puts it, "to give an appearance of ratification and acknowledgment on the part of the Emperors (Diocletian and Maximian) of right to the title and power he had assumed."

Either very little of this coinage (Nos. 28 and 31) was issued by the usurper, or it must have been quickly withdrawn by him, as specimens are very seldom found, and, I understand, none are known to have been discovered on the Continent.

List B contains the description of a few odd coins turned up on the same estate, in previous years, and many more have been found in the vicinity.

ROMAN COINS FOUND NEAR CADBURY CAMP (Som.),
IN 1891.

LIST A. All "Third Brass."

I.—GALLIENUS, A.D. 253—268.

No.		No. of Coins.
1.	<i>Obv.</i> —GALLIENVS AVG.	1
	<i>Rev.</i> —IOVI [CONSERVAT]. Jupiter walking.	

II.—VICTORINUS, A.D. 265—267.

2.	<i>Obv.</i> —IMP. VICTORINVS P.F. AVG.	1
	<i>Rev.</i> —SALVS AVG. Salus feeding a serpent, rising from an altar.	

III.—CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS, A.D. 268—270.

3.	<i>Obv.</i> —IMP. CLAVDIVS AVG.	1
	<i>Rev.</i> —[ANNONA AVG.]. Female figure standing.	

No.		No. of Coins.
4.	<i>Obv.</i> —IMP. CLAVD[IVS AVG.]	1
	<i>Rev.</i> —Legend undecipherable. Mars bearing spear and trophy. Exergue, P.	
	IV.—AURELIANUS, A.D. 270—275.	
5 & 6.	<i>Obv.</i> —IMP. AVRELIANVS AVG.	2
	<i>Rev.</i> —CONCORDIA MILITVM. Emperor and woman joining hands. Exergue, * T.	
7.	As No. 5, but * S in exergue.	1
8.	<i>Obv.</i> —AVRELIANVS AVG.	1
	<i>Rev.</i> —FORTVNA REDVX. Fortune seated. Exergue, * P.	
9.	<i>Obv.</i> —IMP. AVRELIANVS AVG.	1
	<i>Rev.</i> —ORIENS AVG. The Sun standing (with the globe in left hand) between two captives. Exergue, XXI.	
10.	<i>Obv.</i> —AVRELIANVS AVG.	1
	<i>Rev.</i> —ORIENS AVG. The Sun standing with a captive at his feet. Exergue, II.	
11.	<i>Obv.</i> —IMP. C. AVRELIANVS AVG.	1
	<i>Rev.</i> —PROVIDEN. DEOR. The emperor standing, with globe in left hand, and a woman holding two standards. Exergue, SXXT.	
	V.—TACITUS, A.D. 275—276.	
12.	<i>Obv.</i> —IMP. C. M. CL. TACITVS AVG.	1
	<i>Rev.</i> —AEQVITAS AVG. Equity standing holding scales. [Plated.]	
	VOL. XVI. THIRD SERIES. K K	

No.	No. of Coins.
13. <i>Obv.</i> —IMP. CL. TACITVS AVG.	1
<i>Rev.</i> —PAX AETERNA. Peace standing; B * in field.	
VI.—FLORIANUS, A.D. 276.	
14. <i>Obv.</i> —IMP. C. FLORIANVS AVG.	1
<i>Rev.</i> —LAETITIA FVND. Laetitia standing. Exergue, XXIB. [Plated.]	
VII.—PROBUS, A.D. 276—282.	
15. <i>Obv.</i> —IMP. C. PROBVS P.F. AVG.	1
<i>Rev.</i> —ABVNDANTIA AVG. Abundance standing.	
16. <i>Obv.</i> —As No. 15	1
<i>Rev.</i> —FIDES MILITVM. A stolated female holding two standards. Exergue, III.	
17. <i>Obv.</i> —As No. 15	1
<i>Rev.</i> —MARS VICTOR. Mars marching. Exergue, III.	
18. <i>Obv.</i> —As No. 15	1
<i>Rev.</i> —PIETAS AVG. Piety sacrificing.	
19 & 20. <i>Obv.</i> —As No. 15. [No. 19 plated].	2
<i>Rev.</i> —TEMPOR. FELICI. Felicity standing. Exergue, I.	
21. <i>Obv.</i> —As No. 15	1
<i>Rev.</i> —TEMPOR. FELICIT. Felicity standing. In field, B.	

No.	No. of Coins.
22. <i>Obv.</i> —As No. 15	1

Rev.—VIRTVS AVG. Virtus standing.

VIII.—NUMERIANUS, A.D. 283—284.

23. <i>Obv.</i> —IMP. C. NVMERIANVS AVG.	1
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Rev.—PAX AVGG. Peace standing. In field, B.

IX.—DIOCLETIANUS, A.D. 284—305.

24. <i>Obv.</i> —IMP. C.C. VAL. DIOCLETIANVS P.F. AVG.	1
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Rev.—CONSERVAT. AVG. The Sun running.
Exergue, SXXIT.

25. <i>Obv.</i> —IMP. C.C. VAL. DIOCLETIANVS P.F. AVG.	1
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Rev.—IOVI CONSERVAT. Jupiter standing.
Exergue, XXIT.

26. <i>Obv.</i> —IMP. DIOCLETIANVS AVG.	1
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Rev.—IOVI AVGG. Jupiter seated, holding a spear
in left hand and a globe in right. Exergue,
A. [Plated.]

27. <i>Obv.</i> —DIOCLETIANVS P.F. AVG. [Plated] . . .	1
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Rev.—PAX AETERN. Peace standing. Exergue,
A.

28. <i>Obv.</i> —IMP. C. DIOCLETIANVS P.F. AVG. . . .	1
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Rev.—PAX. AVGGG. Peace standing, with her
attributes. In field S.P. Exergue, M.L.XXI.

29. <i>Obv.</i> —IMP. DIOCLETIANVS AVG. [Radiated head to left]	1
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Rev.—SALVS AVGG. Salus feeding a serpent.

X.—MAXIMIANUS, A.D. 286—305.

No.		No. of Coins.
30.	<i>Obr.</i> —IMP. C. M. AVREL. MAXIMIANVS P.F. AVG.	1
	<i>Rev.</i> —IOVI CONSERVAT. Jupiter standing. Exergue, PXXIT. [Plated.]	
31.	<i>Obr.</i> —IMP. C. MAXIMIANVS P.F. AVG. . . .	1
	<i>Rev.</i> —PAX AVGGG. Peace standing. In field, S.P. Exergue, M.L.XXI.	
32.	<i>Obr.</i> —IMP. MAXIMIANVS AVG. [Plated] . . .	1
	<i>Rev.</i> —PAX AVGG. Peace standing. Exergue, B.	
33.	Same, but A in exergue. [Plated]	1

XL.—CARAUSIUS, A.D. 287—293.

34.	<i>Obr.</i> —IMP. C. CARAVSIVS P.F. AVG. . . .	1
	<i>Rev.</i> —PAX AVGGG. Peace standing. In field, S.P. Exergue, M.L.XXI.	

XII.—CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS, A.D. 305—306.

35.	<i>Obr.</i> —FL. VAL. CONSTANTIVS NOB. C. [Plated]	1
	<i>Rev.</i> —PAX AVGG. Peace standing. Exergue, T. * I.	

Total of coins	35
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LIST B.

(Third Brass.)

I.—VALERIANUS, A.D. 253—260.

No.		No. of Coins.
1.	<i>Obv.</i> —IMP. C. P. LIC. VALERIANVS	1

Rev.—CONCOR[DIAE] AVGG. Concord standing, holding patera and double cornucopia.

II.—TETRICUS II., A.D. 267.

2.	<i>Obv.</i> —. . . . TETRICVS	1
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Rev.—(Legend undecipherable). Spes marching, holding a flower in her right hand, and raising her dress with her left.

III.—CONSTANS, A.D. 337—350.

3.	<i>Obv.</i> —D. N. CONSTANS [P.F. AVG.]	1
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Rev.—GLORIA EXER[CITVS]. Two soldiers standing; between them, a standard.

(Silver.)

IV.—HONORIUS, A.D. 395—423.

4.	<i>Obv.</i> —D. N. HONORIVS P.F. AVG.	2
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Rev.—VIRTVS ROMANORVM. Roma victrix seated. Exergue, M.D.P.S. [Quinarii.]

Total of coins	5
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JOHN E. PRITCHARD.

XV.

ON THE ATTRIBUTION OF CERTAIN SILVER COINS OF SASSANIAN FABRIC.



AR

Specimen formerly belonging to General Abbot, now in the
British Museum.

THE late General Sir A. Cunningham, in his letters to me, frequently referred to the puzzling silver coins of thin Sassanian fabric, which were first published by Thomas in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1870, p. 153;¹ and it was his intention to append a note dealing with the question of their attribution to his article on the "Coinage of the White Huns" (*Num. Chron.*, 1894, p. 243). This intention was, unfortunately, never carried out, and the only statement of his views is contained in his correspondence. I have, therefore, brought together and compared all the scattered references to this subject which I could find, and hope that I have succeeded in

¹ The same article appears also in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1870, p. 189: and, with some alterations and additions, it is substantially incorporated in Thomas's contribution on coins to Dr. Burgess's *Report on the Antiquities of Kathiawād and Kachh.* ("Archæological Survey of Western India," 1874—75, p. 52.)

these pages in giving an accurate exposition of the theory held by General Cunningham.

As yet only a few specimens of this coinage have been made known. Five specimens were published by Thomas in the article referred to above, and three by M. Alexis de Markoff in vol. vi. of the *Transactions of the Russian Archaeological Society* for 1891 (p. 298, Pl. IV. 32 and 33). All these coins are at St. Petersburg. In the British Museum there are three—two from the Cunningham collection, and the other, which is figured at the head of this article, from the collection of General Abbot, which formed part of the great India Office collection. These specimens, eleven in all, seem to be the only ones of which we have any detailed account; but other similar coins are mentioned by Tiesenhausen in his letter to Thomas,² and by Thomas himself.³

With regard to the attribution of this class of coins, the following suggestions have been made:—

(1) Thomas doubtfully refers them to the Parthians of Bactria and Arachosia, and seems to date them in about the third century A.D.

(2) M. de Markoff supposes them to have been struck by the Turuska Indo-Scyths in Afghanistan or India in the third or fourth century A.D.

(3) M. Drouin, in his review of Markoff's article (*Revue Numismatique*, 1893, p. 130), suggests their attribution to the Ephthalites before their expulsion from Sogdiana by the Turks in 555 A.D.

² *Jour. R. A. S.*, 1870, p. 153, note = *Num. Chron.*, 1870, p. 189, note = *Kathiawād and Kachh* ("Archæological Survey of Western India"), p. 52, note.

³ *Kathiawād and Kachh*, p. 58, note. "Two new examples of this class of coin—the one from the Royal Cabinet of Copenhagen, and a new piece from Russia."

(4) Sir Henry Howorth, who has kindly promised to explain his views in a subsequent article, assigns them to the same country as M. Drouin, but supposes them to have been struck by the Turkish conquerors of the Ephthalites, and therefore to belong to a period subsequent to 555 A.D.

(5) General Cunningham's views were briefly as follows. He held that the coins were Ephthalite, but Ephthalite of a late date (probably of the seventh century A.D.). He supposed them to have been struck by some branch of the Ephthalites which had spread westward as far as the Caspian Sea, and which retained its independence after the Turkish conquest of the Ephthalites of the Oxus.

His reasons for supposing the existence of such an Ephthalite kingdom are given in his article on the "Ephthalites or White Huns" (*Num. Chron.*, 1894, p. 260), where he says, "The great western extension of their power began with the defeat and death of the Sassanian king, Feroz, in A.D. 483, and lasted until the conquests of the Muhammadans in the eighth century"; and, again, on the same page, "The western extension of the Ephthalite dominion to the shores of the Caspian is confirmed by the historian Procopius, who, writing in A.D. 550, states that they held the country to the north of Persia, with *Gorgo* as their capital. As *Gorgo* or *Gurgān* was the chief city of Hyrkania, the White Huns must have occupied the whole province of *Khorāsān*."

If the existence of this western Ephthalite kingdom can be established—a point which Sir Henry Howorth, with his profound knowledge of the most intricate history of these regions, may, perhaps, be able to settle—

the reasons for attributing these coins to it may be stated as follows:—

(1) *Locality.* Not only is the *provenance* of all the known specimens probably to be traced to territory north of the Hindu Kush, but the greater number certainly came from territory north of the Caspian Sea—as far north as the Government of Perm in European Russia. Not only did the five specimens described by Thomas come from Perm, but Tiesenhausen refers, in his letter, to a previous find of similar coins in the same province. With regard to the *provenance* of the other known specimens, General Abbot obtained his coin in the Hazara country in the Hindu Kush, and the two coins in the Cunningham collection came from the Oxus. The exact *provenance* of the three specimens published by M. de Markoff (two from the Grant collection in the Hermitage, and one from the collection of General Komarhoff) is not stated; but M. de Markoff is surely forgetful of actual facts when he says that all the known specimens of this class have come from Afghanistan and India. Indeed, the very opposite statement would be nearer the truth. Not one of the great collections made in Afghanistan—by Masson, Ventura, Court, Lady Sale, or Stacy—has included a single coin of this class; and, during fifty years of collecting in Afghanistan and India, General Cunningham failed to secure a specimen. The two specimens which he eventually obtained came, as has been already stated, direct from the Oxus.

From considerations of *provenance* only, even if there were no other adverse reasons, the attribution suggested by M. de Markoff cannot be sustained. Thomas's attribution likewise fails, partly for the same reason, but

principally because the Sassanian, as opposed to the Parthian, derivation of the fabric of these coins, is beyond all dispute. The truth, no doubt, lies between the three other suggested attributions, which are all founded on a recognition of this fact.

(2) *Type.* The Ephthalite character of these coins was asserted by General Cunningham from a consideration of the following analogies. The character behind the King's head on the obverse—supposed in some cases by Thomas to be a representation of the Parthian eagle—is probably merely the Ephthalite symbol  ; the crescent which appears so constantly in the front of the King's helmet on Ephthalite coins appears on these coins also; and the reverse type of the horseman seems to be imitated from coins which have with great probability been assigned to the Ephthalites of the Oxus. (*Num. Chron.*, 1894, Pl. IX., figs. 6—9.)

(3) *Date.* Valuable evidence is supplied by Tiesenhausen's letter to Thomas, in which he says that, in the case of a former find (in 1851), coins of this class were discovered in company with Sassanian coins of the sixth century, and Byzantine coins of the seventh—of Heraclius and his son Constantine III.

(4) *Denomination and Weight.* The coins are of three classes, distinguished as follows:—(a) *Heavier silver.* To this section belong General Abbot's coin, Thomas's Nos. 2, 3, 4, and Markoff's Nos. 32 and 33. The only weights known are those of General Abbot's coin, 73·2 grs. = 4·47 grammes; Markoff's No. 32, 67 grs. = 4·35 grammes; and Markoff's No. 33, 73·6 grs. = 4·77 grammes. The inscription around the reverse of the coins of this section is in large distinct characters, and all traces of what Thomas supposed to be an inscription in Arabic charac-

ters on the reverse, or of the legend in uncertain characters in front of the King's face on the obverse, are wanting. (b) *Lighter silver.* General Cunningham's two coins, weighing respectively, 33.3 grs. = 2.15 grammes, and 35 grs. = 2.26 grammes,⁴ and Thomas's No. 1. Instead of the distinct legend around the reverse, these coins have merely a series of marks, which it is hard to believe ever constituted a legible character, and they have all the supposed Arabic inscription, and they have all the inscription in front of the King's head.⁵ (c) *Bronze.* Thomas's No. 5 and Markoff's No. 34, which weighs 106.5 grs. = 6.9 grammes. Markoff, in claiming his coin to be unique, had forgotten Thomas's publication.

As Markoff has observed, the silver coins are evidently struck according to the same standard as the Sassanian coins. If the two classes were contemporary, the heavier coins were no doubt intended to weigh just twice as much as the lighter.

(5) *Inscriptions.* The reverse inscription, which is seen so distinctly on the heavier and so confusedly on the lighter coins, appears in its completest form on Markoff's specimens. Two suggestions for its interpretation have been made. Thomas, supposing that the characters which make up this inscription were derived from various alphabetical sources, proposed *Malkā Isak* = *King Arsaces*, as a possible rendering. General Cunningham, on the other hand, supposed the legend to be written in Pahlavi letters of a northern type, and interpreted **PSW SPYYP** as *Ta-r-ga-ta-sh Khu-dū-t* = *Targitius the King*. It

⁴ Each of these coins is pierced.

⁵ The occurrence of this Arabic inscription is denied by Markoff, but it may be remarked that none of his coins belongs to this section.

must be left to some scholar, such as M. Drouin, who possesses a more intimate acquaintance with the difficult alphabets and dialects of this region and period, to determine the feasibility of this interpretation. In support of his reading General Cunningham referred to the occurrence of "Targitius" as an Avar name or title (*v. De Guigne's Histoire des Huns*, tome i., part 2, pp. 358, 360). With regard to the inscription on the lighter coins, which Thomas supposed to be Arabic and read نَصْل, I do not know what view General Cunningham held, but for my own part, after a careful examination of Thomas's wood-cut and the two coins from the Cunningham collection, I have come to the conclusion that in two cases out of the three these characters are almost certainly Arabic. They are clearest of all on one of the Cunningham coins, which seems to read النَّصْل with the addition of the article. The traces of an inscription which are found in a similar position on the other Cunningham coin are altogether doubtful. Bearing in mind the fact that coins of this class had been discovered together with Byzantine coins, General Cunningham was inclined to see Byzantine influence even in the coins themselves, and read these traces as the letters IX which, he thought, might have been copied from the Byzantine IX = Ἰησοῦς Χριστός; or, as an alternative, he suggested that these two letters, whether originally borrowed from this source or not, might have been retained on Ephthalite coins as the initials of a common Ephthalite name and title, Ἰαβοῦλος Χαγανός = Jabula, the Khākān. With regard to the legend in front of the King's face on the lighter silver coins, there is little to be said at present. It is undoubtedly an inscription of some kind, but in what language or alphabet is uncertain.

In conclusion, I may add that, if the occurrence of an Arabic inscription on the lighter coins can be proved, we have an additional clue to the date of this particular class. In that case it would appear that the heavier and lighter classes were not contemporary, but that the heavier coins, with their clear reverse inscription in Pahlavi, or whatever the alphabet may be, came first, and that they were followed by the lighter coins which belong to a period when this inscription, having ceased to have a meaning, was continued on the coins as a mere ornament, and its original purpose was supplied by an additional inscription in the language and alphabet of the time.

E. J. RAPSON.

XVI.

ON THE BEZANT OF JAMES I.



The Bezant of James I.

In the Appendix of Besant's recently published *History of Westminster*, I have come across a quotation referring to the bezants, which are said to have been given in charity on certain occasions by the sovereigns of England. The quotation is from a little volume by Thomas de Laune, Gent., published in London in 1681, and entitled, *The Present State of London, or Memorials comprehending a Full and Succinct Account of the Modern and Ancient State thereof.*

In Section 4 of the chapter on the "Palaces and Houses of the Nobility," we find "A Brief Account of our King's Court," and under the head, "Its Government, both Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Military," we read, "The King has his private oratory, where some of his chaplains in ordinary perform the officio every day of the week. Upon twelve high and principal festivals in the year, the King (after the service is over), attended with the principal nobility, offers a sum of gold to God, *in signum Specialis Domini*, that by His grace he is King, and holds all of Him, which belongs to the Dean to be distributed amongst the poor. This gold offered is called the *Bizantine*, which anciently was a piece of gold coyned by the emperours of Constantinople, in Latin, *Bizantium*. That which was used by King James is a piece of gold, having on one side the pourtrait of the King kneeling before an altar, with four crowns before him, and this motto circumscribed: 'Quid retribuam Domino, pro omnibus quæ retribuit mihi?' On the other side was a lamb lying by a lyon, with this motto, viz., 'Cor comtutum (*sic*, for contritum) et humiliatum non despiciet Deus.' "

The above account is probably more or less founded upon the description given of the bezants in Camden's *Remains*, the seventh impression of which was printed at the Flower de Luco in 1674, some seven years before De Laune's book saw the light, as it seems difficult otherwise to account for several points of similarity between the two accounts, except by the supposition of a common origin unknown to me.

This will be seen by a comparison of the above passage with the description in the *Remains*, which runs as follows:—

"Gold, they (the Danes) had also which was not of

their own coyn; but outlandish, which they called in Latine *Bizantini*, as coyned at Constantinople, sometime called *Bizantium*, and not at Besanson in Burgundy. This coyn is not now known; but Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury (as it is in the authentical deed), purchased Hendon in Middlesex of King Edgar, to Westminster, for two hundred bizantines. Of what value they were was utterly forgotten in the time of King Edward the Third; for, whereas the Bishop of Norwich was condemned to pay a bizantine of gold to the Abbot of Saint Edmunds-Bury for encroaching on his liberty (as it was enacted by Parliament in the time of the Conquerour), no man then living could tell how much that was; so it was referred to the King to rate how much he should pay. Which I do much marvell at, when, as but one hundred years before, two hundred thousand bizants were exacted of the Soldan for the redeeming of Saint Lewis of France, which were then valued at an hundred thousand lieurs.

“The name continueth yet in the blazon of arms, where plates of gold are called bezantes; and in the Court of England, where a great piece of gold, valued at fifteen pound, which the King offereth upon high festival days, is yet called a bizantine; which anciently was a piece of gold coyned by the emperours of Constantinoplo, but afterwards therow were two purposely made for the King and Queen, with the resemblance of the Trinity, inscribed, ‘In honorem sanctae Trinitatis,’ and on the other side the picture of the Virgin Mary, with ‘In honorem sanctae Mariae Virginis’; and this was used till the first year of King James, who upon just reason caused two to be cast, the one for himself, having on the one side the picture of a king kneeling before an altar, with four

crowns before him, implying his four kingdoms, and in the circumscriptio, 'Quid retribuam,' &c., on the other side a lamb lying by a lion, with 'Cor contritum,' &c. And in another, for the Queen, a crown protected by a cherubin, over that an eye, and Deus in a cloud, with 'Teget ala summus'; on the reverse a queen kneeling before an altar, with this circumscriptio, 'Piis precibus, fervente fide, humili obsequio.'

The notice of the bezant in the *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, published by the British Museum authorities in 1885, throws but little light on a subject that deserves more attention than it has hitherto received at the hands of numismatists and archaeologists, as an examination of the very beautiful existing impression of the obverse of the bezant in the British Museum will prove. In vol. i., page 187 of that work, we read:—

"Bezant. 1603.—James I. in royal robes kneels, l., with uplifted hands before an altar in an oratory; before him, on the carpet, are the four crowns of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. *Leg:* 'Quid retribuam,' &c. (What reward shall I find nnto the Lord: for all the benefits he hath done unto me?—*Psalm cxvi.*). *m. m.*, Fleur-de-lis; stops, stars.

"No reverse—2.75—Perry X. 2 (see illustration) MB. AR. From the Strawberry Hill Collection. Unique?"

"It was the custom of English sovereigns upon high festivals of the Church to offer up a bezant or bezantine of about £15 value. When James I. came to the throne of England he ordered dies for two bezants for himself and the Queen. The present piece is an impression from one side of his bezant, and the device was probably dictated by his gratitude for having so quietly succeeded to the English crown. No impression has been found of the

other side of his bezant or of either side of the Queen's. The reverse of the King's bezant had a lamb lying by a lion, with the inscription, 'Cor contritum,' &c. (A broken and contrite heart God will not despise). In another for the Queen, a crown protected by a cherub; over that an eye, and *Dcus* in a cloud, with 'Teget alâ summus' (The Most High will cover with His wing). On the reverse a Queen kneeling before an altar, with the inscription, 'Piis precibus, fervente fide, humili obsequio' (By pious prayers, fervent faith, humble devotion). See Camden's *Remains* (1674), chapter on 'Money,' page 236."

From the abovo extracts wo may arrive at the conclusion that the original bezants were pieces of gold coined by the Christian emperors of the Western Empire, and that in all probability the custom of presentation of these alms by the sovereign through the Dean of Westminster began on the return of Richard I. from the Crusades, in recognition of his providential delivery from the hands of his foes, both Moslem and Christian; and here we face our first difficulty of the non-existence of the coin or medal described by Camden as being *in use* before the time of James I., to say nothing of the inference the text seems to imply that the deodand was originally coined at Constantinople; for where shall we find a Byzantine gold medal of the weight of fifteen sovereigns? Then we have the description of the bezant as it existed before the time of James I., for Camden tells us that afterwards two were "purposely made," when, he does not specify; but we may presume that his description is not an invention of his own, but must have been founded upon the assumption or knowledge that the medal described existed in fact.

It is very strange that such a medal or medals should now be extinct; it is possible, however, that but one

example of such medal (King's and Queen's) was struck to be used on the twelve annual occasions, and that the value they represented was exchanged for the medal in current coin, for the medal itself would have been of little use for distribution to the poor.

A bezant is described in a *Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences* as a gold piece current in England from the tenth century to the time of Edward III., and Chambers, in his *Book of Days*, 1863, vol. i., p. 585, describes the custom of the bezant as a festival held on the 2nd of May (the birthday of Camden, 1551, from whose work we have above quoted), or the Monday in Rogation week, at Shaftesbury in Dorsetshire, a festival stated to be so ancient that no authentic record of its origin exists.

It seems that the inhabitants of this borough were in former times indebted for their supply of water to the lord of the manor, to whom the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses presented the bezant as an acknowledgment of their water privileges. The bezant is variously described as a calf's head uncooked, and as a sort of trophy constructed of ribbons, flowers, and peacock's feathers, fastened to a frame about four feet high, round which were hung jewels, coins, medals, &c., contributed according to the means of those enjoying the privileges. The editor adds in a note, "Bezant being the recognised name of an ancient gold coin, we may presume that the ceremony took its name from such a piece of money being originally tendered to the lord of the manor."

It is quite possible that numismatists or antiquaries might add other instances of the use of the word, but I will not trespass on the patience of my readers further than to notice shortly the style and execution of the only specimen of the bezant we at present know, as we

may presume it once existed, as an example of glyptic art.

This consists of an impression of the obverse described by Camden, struck on a thin plate of silver, from which we can see that the die must have been the work of no mean artist. As the illustration in Perry, Plate X. 2, gives but a very imperfect idea of the original, a more true and accurate representation is given at the head of this notice. The design of this piece is, to my mind, much superior to that of the ryals of the period, although the execution is somewhat similar; bolder, perhaps, in the ryal, but more refined in the medal under consideration.

The absence of any indication such as the lion or the thistle makes me reluctantly doubt its being the work of a Scottish artist, whilst the treatment of some of the details and the style of the letters of the legend, especially the R and M, are very similar to the same details in the probably contemporaneous ryal. I should therefore, with the remark that I consider myself by no means an authority, be inclined to ascribe the die to Charles Anthony or John Dicker, who were engravers to the English Mint in the beginning of the seventeenth century, rather than to Charles Dickson, of the Scottish Mint, of whose work I can recollect only examples in copper.

The resemblance of the details of the background to some of the details on solidi of Justinian II. and Constantius V. is of course fanciful and probably inspired by the name, but I record it as having struck me.

In the present state of the total absence of any example of this English medal, except the single obverse that forms the subject of the present notice, our ideas must be more speculative than authoritative. It is difficult to

believe that such a generally accurate and painstaking historian as Camden would have made the statement that bezants were in use for the purposes of royal almsgiving, both before and during the period of the reign of James I., unless they were so, especially as he describes them both; and as we are, so far as I know, ignorant of the authority from which he takes his description, we might perhaps presume that he had seen the medals himself. It is possible, of course, that the medals and dies were destroyed by the fires at Whitehall in 1691 and 1698, or in the fire that destroyed part of St. James's Palace in 1809. No mention, however, of the bezant is made in the inventory of King Charles I.'s Pictures and Rarities in Whitehall (see Harl. MS., 4,718).

It is hoped that this short notice may be the means of collecting more exact information on a subject that is worthy of more attention than appears to have been hitherto bestowed upon it; and in the meantime it might be pertinent to ask how the plaque, of which an illustration is here given, came into the possession of Horace Walpole. It is not impossible that the medal itself might be found amongst the royal collections at Windsor.

JOHN GLAS SANDEMAN.

XVII.

“PERKINS SCHOOL-TOKENS” OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

THE pieces I designate “Perkins Tokens” are curious tokens, or school rewards, commonly included amongst the uncertain English tokens of the seventeenth century. Such pieces are described in G. C. Williamson’s second edition of Boyne’s *Trade Tokens issued in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1889), pp. 1427—8, Nos. 100, 101, 106, 109 to 114.

The following additional pieces are in my collection:—



1. *Obr.*— **FLECTI · NON · EST · FRANGI.** Shield of Arms; a chevron between three ostrich feathers; the whole within a border. The arms are the same as those on Williamson’s No. 100.

Rev.— **DIGNA DIGNIS EVENIVNT [ur].** A man or boy, with his hat on, walking up hill to left, and stretching out his hands to receive a wreath from a hand in the clouds.

Diameter, 1 inch (penny-size).

2. *Obv.* — DIGNA · DIGNIS · EVENIVNT [ur]. A man or boy standing three-quarters to left, holding hat in his right hand; a hand from the clouds holds a crown above his head.

Rev. — ☰ AGONISMA. A wreath. The reverse is the same as the reverse of Williamson's No. 114.

Diameter, .9 inch.



3. *Obv.* — ☰ QVID · MIHI · CVM HIS. A boy standing facing, pointing to some circular objects lying on the ground to the left (probably quoits).

Rev. — ☰ ALLIORA (altiora ?) PETO ... A boy walking to left, holding an open book in his left hand and pointing towards the sun with his right hand.

Diameter, .85 inch.



4. *Obv.* — ♀ SEDVLITAS · HONOS ☰ · A · P. A boy standing to left holding an open book.

Rev. — ♀ OPERIS · VICTORIA · FINIS: A boy standing, facing, grasps with his right hand a large crown to his left above him.

Diameter, .85 inch.



5. *Obr.*— DOLEO · CAPVT. A man or boy seated to left in an arm-chair, resting his head on his right hand and the elbow on a table in front of him ; on the table is a book ; on the left, above him, is an hour-glass.

Rev.— NIL · SINE · LABORE. A person holding a whip kneels to left ; in front is a cart ; above, a figure in the clouds. Mr. Grueber pointed out that this is a representation of *Æsop's fable of Hercules and the Carter*. The wheels of the cart stuck fast in the clay. When the carter invoked Hercules to come and help him, Hercules appeared in the clouds and told the carter that instead of whining and praying he should put his shoulder to the wheel.

Diameter, .85 inch. The piece is a variety of Williamson's No. 112, and is thicker and of rather better workmanship than the other pieces.



6. *Obr.*—No legend. A donkey feeding ; behind is a man with a whip ; above, in front, a hand holds out a crown. This type is an illustration of the "Asinus Mavult Gramina" of Williamson's No. 101.

Rev.— DILIGENTIÆ PRÆMIVM. A hand holding out or about to grasp a crown.

Diameter, .625 inch (farthing token size).

These pieces are so similar in their workmanship, in their types and in their Latin legends, that they may be considered as probably forming a series used for the same purpose, and issued by the same person or body of persons. It seems probable that the shield of arms on two of them (No. 1 and Williamson's No. 100) might give a clue as to their origin, and Mr. W. H. St. John Hope kindly ascertained for me that these arms have been borne by families named Perkins in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. (See *An Ordinary of British Armorial*, by J. W. Papworth and A. W. Morand, London, 1874, p. 418.) I have therefore, for want of more exact information, ventured to call them "the Perkins series" of tokens. The motto FLECTI NON EST FRANGI has given me no clue to their origin, but the letters A.P. on the obverse of No. 4 may be the initials of the issuer.

What their exact use was remains doubtful, but there can hardly be a doubt that they were used at some school, either as rewards, as cheques, or as actual tokens for private monetary currency. The fact that some of them are of the size of ordinary seventeenth-century farthing tokens, and others of halfpenny tokens, does not conclusively prove that they were circulated as private monetary tokens; for they were doubtless made by the token-makers of the period, and would therefore probably resemble ordinary tokens, whether they were used as such or not. The fact, indeed, that one of these pieces occurs struck in silver [a silver piece the same as, or similar to, Williamson's No. 100, was included in lot 1429 of the Boyne collection, sold by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, & Hodge, 30th January, 1896] speaks somewhat against their use as ordinary private monetary tokens; but the

silver piece alluded to may only have been struck as a proof impression.

The legends on all the pieces of the series are in Latin, and, together with their types, point out the reward of industry on the one hand, and the punishment awaiting idleness on the other. A similar type to that on some of these pieces appears on the obverse of what is evidently a comparatively recent school reward, which I will therefore describe. It bears on the obverse a child standing, and a hand from above holding out a wreath towards it; in the exergue EXPECTAT; on the reverse are the words POLAND STREET ACADEMY, with the word ACCESSIT in the centre. (Silver; diameter .8 inch.) Its date might be the end of the eighteenth century. The Poland Street Academy, whatever it was, is not likely to have been the issuer of the seventeenth-century pieces, and I mention the piece merely on account of its similar type.

Some of the types and legends of the series require a moment's attention. Most of them are intelligible enough, such as DILIGENTIÆ PRÆMIVM, with the hand holding a crown, and DESIDLÆ PCENA, with the hand holding a whip (Williamson's No. 110); so also the type of a donkey with a man holding a whip behind it, and a hand holding a crown in front of it (No. 6). Even a dunce, therefore, at this school had some chance of a prize. In No. 5 the obverse represents a student reading with an hour-glass close by him, and the legend DOLEO CAPVT makes the picture still more intelligible; while the reverse type from *Æsop's fable* points out the moral.

The obverse of No. 3, with QVID MIHI CVM HIS and a boy pointing to what seem to be quoits on the

ground, shows that in the seventeenth century anything but compulsory attendance at games was the rule at boys' schools. Mistakes in spelling occur on this piece, ALLIORA for ALTIORA, and on Williamson's No. 101, where the legends ASINAS MAVVLT STRAMINA (an ass feeding), and on the reverse LEGENDO GRICIS (an open book), are doubtless continuous and intended to read ASINUS MAVVLT STRAMINA LEGENDO GRÆCIS, a "donkey prefers straw to reading Greek." Thus we see that eating was as little encouraged at this school as was playing at quoits. Only one of the legends is derived from a classical author; this is (Williamson's No. 111) the much-quoted line from Virgil (*Georg.*, iv. 168): "Ignavum, fucos, pecus, a præsepibus arcent." The inscription, however, on Williamson's No. 111 is, I suppose, probably meant to scan as a hexameter:—*Obv.* OCCVPET EXTREMV[M] SCABIES (a sheep's head). *Rev.* MIHI TVRPE RELINQVI EST (a man's head).

F. PARKES WEBER.

MISCELLANEA.

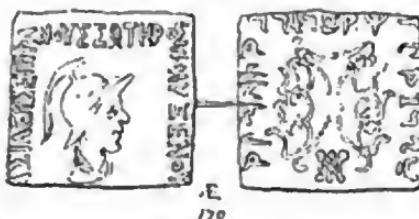
(1)



Two NEW COINS FROM THE PANJĀB.—General Sir Alexander Cunningham published his well-known papers on "The Coins of the Successors of Alexander in the East" in the pages of this Chronicle. It seems only right, therefore, that new discoveries of coins belonging to this series should be brought forward in the same. The two coins, drawings of which accompany this notice, are novelties.

No. (1) is a coin in appearance exactly like one of the coins of either Gondopharres or of his nephew, Sasan. Jupiter to the r. is on the obverso. In front of him are two monograms; behind him is a third and an indefinite object. The reverse has a horseman to the l., and in front of him is the sign of the Gondopharres family. The legend on the obverse in Pāli reads "Jayatasa . . . Aspavarma." Now we know the coins of Azes with this inscription on the reverse, but Azes is placed 80 years b.c., and Gondopharres 80 A.D. If Aspavarma is the general whose name comes on the coins of both Azes and Gondopharres, he must have been a long-lived man. The legend on the coin is imperfect, hence we are left to conjecture what relationships existed between Aspavarma and Gondopharres. The coin seems to join in some unknown manner the two branches of the Indo-Scythians represented by Azes and Gondopharres. It was drawn from a specimen in the possession of Dr. Thornton, C.B., Inspector-General of Hospitals on the Panjab frontier.

(2)



No. (2) is a coin of a new king:—

Obr.—Helmeted head of king to r:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ
ΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΟΥ.

Rev.—Aegis and—

የኅይና (sic) የገኘ (?)-ገኘ
የተለሬ የህንጻ

The third word should be የገኘ, but it has been blundered. Below, the monogram ኃ.

This coin belongs to L. White King, Esq., F.S.A. It was obtained at Peshawur last summer.

The shape and general appearance of the coin seem to place it about the time of Strato I. and Menander. Polyxenus must have reigned a very short time, for this is the only coin that has yet been found of this king.

New coins of new kings are still found now and then in the Panjab. I find in a letter of General Cunningham to me, dated 13th September, 1884:—

"Did you ever hear of Penkolans? No! Neither did I until I whispered it softly to myself—the name had not been heard for 2000 years—but I have found it on a new copper coin—square of course."

Obr.—Apollo (?) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ
ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΠΕΥΚΟΛΑΟΥ.

Rev.—Demeter

የዕለታዊ ብሔራዊ የገኘ
የተለሬ

"Maharajasa dhramikasa tradatasa Pēnkuleasa."

Some few weeks after receipt of this letter, a coin of this very king was sent to me for identification by L. White King,

Esq., from Peshawur. So that the "find" would seem to have been confined to two coins only.

I have in my own cabinet of coins two poor specimens of a round copper coin. *Obv.* A horse standing to r. with a whisk of hay in his mouth. *Rev.* Herakles with his club on his left shoulder. In l. field Ψ. On a specimen of the same coin sent for examination from Lahore, I read on obverse ΣΑΤΡΑΠΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛ . . . —. It had on the reverse Ψ to l., and monogram ΣΛ to r. In my *Lahore Cat.*, part iii., No. 2, p. 50, I edited two coins of this satrap, but on no coin that I have as yet seen has there been any name legible. We may look out for coins bearing the name. The coins I have seen seem to be a mixture of lead and copper, like one type of Rajnabula. There are, I feel certain, many new kings' names yet to be obtained. We have not by any means exhausted the coins of the Panjub. And of the kings we know there must be new types to be discovered. Amongst General Cunningham's coins there was one of Eukratides, with ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ instead of ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. I hope this has not been lost.

CHAS. J. RODGERS.

NOTES ON A PENNY OF OFFA WITH NEW TYPE OF REVERSE.

Obv. — + OFFA REX. Largo cross pommée over small cross pommée (as Ruding, Plate V., 88).

Rev. — + DVD in spaces formed by cruciform compartment, the limbs of which are open at ends and terminate in pellets. Within, a circle enclosing pellet, and having cruciform limbs also, dividing the space left in the quarters, in each of which three pellets; similar pellets also dividing the moneyer's name.

There is nothing very remarkable about this penny except that, like most of this remarkable and artistic series, every succeeding new type revealed to us strengthens Mr. Keary's able argument, in *Num. Chron. N. S.*, vol. xv., p. 206, that in Offa's coins we have the purest type of Saxon art not influenced, as has been erroneously suggested, by Italian or any other workmanship; and it may be safely said that at no period did continental art sink so low as at this very period, so that it may cause us no surprise that so far from style of workmanship being imported, it was exported to Charlemagne, Offa's contemporary.

It may be observed that this peculiar Saxon art, of which we have evidence in the numismatic and manuscript relics, did not spring spontaneously into activity during the life of Offa, but had existed long previously depicted in the obscure series of sceattas, which were struck by the Heptarchic monarchs before the advent of the penny, and which, though differing from the latter greatly in module, were, for the most part, of the same weight, and consequently probably interchangeable with the earliest pennies; a fact, however, which has not been borne out by the evidence of finds hitherto, but which view is strengthened when we consider that the contemporary series of Northumbria, though somewhat interrupted by the internal dissensions of the time, continued of the smaller sceatta-like size until the irruption of the Danes.

GRANTLEY.

AN UNDESCRIPTED HUOUENOT MEDAL RELATING TO THE ST. BARTHOLOMEW MASSACRE?—This jeton, struck in yellow bronze, was found about six years since during the progress of some excavations in the older districts of Dublin; it was thickly coated with dirt and lay unnoticed in my cabinet until recently, when, whilst examining some French medals, its obverse attracted my attention, for the arms and motto corresponded with a woodcut on a torn fragment of paper that represented the official seal of Charles IX., which was affixed to the order for the massacre of St. Bartholomew. I therefore removed with all possible care the accumulated adhering covering of dirt, so that I might be enabled to make a satisfactory examination of both sides of the jeton.

The obverse is intended to represent both the motto and royal arms of Charles IX., differing only in minor matters of detail from the seal already mentioned. In the centre is a shield bearing three fleurs-de-lis, arranged two and one; on either side of the shield are two pillars bearing small crowns, and above all is placed a large Imperial Crown at the upper part of the field. The inscription being PIETATE ET JVSTITIA. The reverse of the jeton is, however, not such as Charles IX. would be likely to approve or to strike, and the occurrence on it of Hebrew letters representing the name of Jehovah, surrounded by clouds, pointed to a different source. This is confirmed by the motto VOLVNTARIE SACRIFICABO, with the addition of VERITAS in the exergo. These appear

to suggest its being designed to commemorate the massacre from a different standpoint to that of the well-known medal "Strages Ugontorum" struck by Gregory XIII.¹ Above the line of oxerguo is a reclining nude figure representing VERITAS (the naked truth); she rests with her right arm on what appears to be the stone tablos of the Ten Commandments, or possibly it may be considered to represent an open Bible, but the former suggestion seems to me more probable; a palm-branch held in her right hand rests across her shoulder, the left arm is outstretched and her hand holds a wreath, which is being placed upon a skull situated in front of her knee, at the base of a pillar distinctly to be recognised, which supports a heart on its summit surrounded by flames, that rise up towards the canopy of clouds around the name of "Jehovah." The centre of the jeton is unfortunately much rubbed, but there appears to be a corresponding pillar with heart and flames before the face and body of "Truth." This requires a sidelight for its recognition. Both the hearts are placed at the same elevation on either side symmetrically, and it would appear as if the hearts elevated on these pillars answered to the design of the small crown placed on pillars upon the obverse of the medal, whilst the Hebrew inscription of the name of God replaces the Imperial Crown. At the base of the pillar first described, to the left of the skull, and resting against its lower portion, is a round shield immediately above the feet of the recumbent figure, which was like the shield on the obverse, and bore some arms; it has, however, become worn so smooth that this must be mere conjecture.

The discovery of an undescribed Huguenot Medal in the City of Dublin would not be so inexplicable as might be supposed at first sight. Dublin continued for a succession of years to receive constant accessions of French Protestant refugees of all ranks in society, rich and poor, to whom it is indebted for various branches of industry, such as silk cabinet weaving and sugar refining, once largely carried on. Indeed, after the Battle of the Boyne, when William's French troops were disbanded, no less than five large congregations were maintained by these Huguenot settlers within the bounds of the city, and, at the

¹ *Ed. Note.*—This jeton or counter is one of a large series struck at Nuremberg by Hans Krauwiuckel, all of which have the same obverse type, but vary in that of the reverse. They are all of an historical nature: but it seems a little doubtful whether Dr. Frazer is quite right in connecting this particular one with the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

present time, many of its foremost citizens bear French names and are of Huguenot descent.

As an undescribed medalet it may be considered deserving to be placed on record. I have not been able to trace the existence of another specimen. Somehow it found its way to a distant and foreign land, was lost there for a time, and through accident attracted my notice, which led to its recognition.

It deserves to be noticed that in the engraving of Etienne de Laugne can be traced the figure of Veritas, clouds, palm-branch, skull, &c., corresponding to the design of this jeton so remarkably as to suggest some acquaintance of its fabricator with de Laugne's designs.

W. FRAZER.

A BRONZE MEDALLION OF THE DELIVERY OF ANTWERP IN 1577, being one of a series engraved in "Patria Libertati Restituta" and republished by Sir W. Sterling Maxwell. The late Sir William Sterling Maxwell, as his last contribution to art and history, published a folio volume on *Antwerp Delivered in 1577: A Passage from the History of the Troubles in the Netherlands*. It was essentially a series of illustrations, with copies of borders, initial letters, facsimiles of maps and other engravings after Mertin de Vos and Franz Hogenburg.

Mertin de Vos contributes a series of seven plates to the volume, which are intended to commemorate the successful plot of Charles de Redelgem, Baron of Leiderkerch and Civil Governor of Antwerp, Captain Pontns de Noyelles, Seigneur of Bours, and William Rouck, Receiver-General of the Royal Domains in Brabant, to seize the Castle of Antwerp for the Estates and the consequent demolition of part of that fortress. Events which took place from the first to the twenty-second of August, 1577.

Each of these seven plates contains a central engraved medallion of large size, surrounded by emblematic figures and elaborate scroll work. On the first plate of the series, dated 1578, is the signature MERTIN DE VOS IN. By whom the designs were engraved is doubtful. Alvin, in his catalogue of the works of the brothers Wierx, claims them for these artists. Whilst in the *Atlas Historique Druguetin* (Leipsic, 1867) it is suggested they were the workmanship of Adriaan Collaert, to whose style of engraving they bear considerable resemblance. Two early editions of these plates are known, one issued by Peter Balteus at Antwerp, and the other at Amsterdam by Franciscus Hocius.

The second of these seven plates commemorates the seizure on the first day of August, 1577, of the Citadel of Antwerp, the company of Captain de Blois, Seigneur of Treslong, being driven out by the other three companies that formed the Walloon garrison. This action, represented by a circular medallion, is ornamented as if framed, having emblematic figures of Foresight and Constancy above the metallic plaque, broken manacles hang at its sides, and underneath are Dutch verses describing and commemorating the event.

The bronze medallion exhibited is the original, whence this central plaque was engraved which I have described. Consequently it appears to be the sole survivor of a most interesting series of seven historical pieces now only known by the engravings of Mertin de Vos. It came into my possession some years before the publication of Sir William Sterling Maxwell's work, and it was from seeing his reproductions that I was made aware of the historic meaning of the medallion. Unfortunately Sir William's death was announced whilst his book was passing through the press, else I should have submitted the medal to him.

When in Holland I made every inquiry at the Numismatic Museum of the Hague after this missing series of medallions, and was informed they were quite unknown.

W. FRAZER.

PHœNIX MEDALET OF ELIZABETH. *Circ. 1590.*—On the obverse is the bust of the Queen in embroidered dress, ruff, and jewelled hood, with veil. *Leg.*: ELIZABETH. D. G. ANG. FR. ET. HIB. REGINA. On the reverse is represented the Phœnix standing in the midst of flames; above, the monogram of the Queen; around, her motto, "Semper Eadem." *A.R.* *Size, 1.4 in.*

This piece is stamped in imitation of engraving, and is probably the work of Simon Passe or Nicolas Hilliard, the Queen's limner. The type is evidently taken from the well-known Phœnix badge, and probably refers to the averted dangers which had so recently threatened the Queen as well as the country. The Queen of Scots was dead; the Armada had been defeated; and the designs of France and the Vatican had been baffled. The Phœnix badge is usually placed to a somewhat earlier date, as it is considered to refer more especially to the recovery of the Queen from smallpox. This piece, however, seems to have been made at a somewhat later time, as there is

in the Musenm a medalet of similar work of Roland du Jardin, Sienr des Roches, which is dated "Londini, 1586."

H. G.

A MEDAL ILLUSTRATING THE CONDITION OF FRANCE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1709.—On the obverse Louis XIV. is represented standing before his throne, whilst Gallia is pointing out to him the misery of his subjects, personified by figures symbolical of Famine, War, and Sedition, and addresses him in the words of Virgil, *Aen.* I. 245: "Quem das finem, rex magne, laborum?" On the reverse is seen Louis consulting an astrologer, who points to the symbol of Mars high up in the heavens, whilst low down in the horizon is that of Mercury. Around is the inscription, "Cyllenius haeret et coelum Mars solus habet." On the edge is inscribed, "Longi poenas Fortuna favoris exigit." Pewter, Size, 1·7 in.

This medal shows the miserable state of France at this period. The exhausting campaign of 1708 had been followed by an unusually severe winter, which had caused widespread misery throughout the country. All the vines were destroyed, the crops had suffered severely and the whole country was destitute, bread being at almost famine prices. The great expenses of the war had exhausted the finances of the country, and commerce had been almost entirely interrupted through the maritime powers of the nations opposed to France. This medal was made in Holland and therefore intended to satirize the position of France.

H. G.

ON A BARONIAL COIN OF THE REIGN OF STEPHEN.—The able paper by Mr. A. E. Packe on the "Coins of Stephen" (*see ante*, pp. 59-72), coupled with the recent Montagu sale, will draw attention to the interesting coins of this reign. It is not my intention to review the various details of Mr. Packe's contribution, but as he alludes to the baronial coin in my collection, I wish to put on record the opinion of a great authority, whose voice, alas! will no more be heard at the meetings of the Numismatic Society.

After my short article which appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd Series, 1889, pp. 844-847, I was favoured with a letter from the late Mr. Montagu, which, to my mind, cleared up the difficulty as to the issuer of this coin. Anything coming from Mr. Montagu will, I am sure, be interesting to the Society; so I will give the extract in full from his letter.

"I still think your piece was probably struck by Baldwin de Redvers, and that the mint was Totnes, which was a very busy mint in Anglo-Saxon times, and though it fell into disuse after Cnut's reign, yet in Domesday Book it is described as having a mint. At our last meeting a fragment of a coin picked up by my friend Mr. L. A. Lawrence, and which we had discussed previously very fully, was acknowledged by all the *virtuosi* to have been struck by Eustace Fitzjohn; another very important (and perhaps the most powerful) baron in Stephen's time, and I am inclined to think that all our coins of Eustace were struck by him, and not by the son of Stephen, as heretofore imagined. If he struck coins in the north, why should not Baldwin have struck them in the south? Our chroniclers tell us that the barons did strike coins, and I have several (including one attributed to Ranulph, Earl of Chester) which appear to be baronial.

"With regard to your own coin, I have a plaster cast which I got from the British Museum, and I read it C. IT I., *i.e.*, COMES IT Insulae—Count of the Isle of Wight. Now why IT should be Wight or 'Vectis' I don't know, but I have a strong impression that it is. Baldwin de Redvers inherited the Lordship of that island, which Henry I. gave to Richard de Redvers, and which continued in his family until 1293, when Isabella de Fortibus, the Lady of the Island, sold it to Edward I. I have seen a seal of this lady, on which her title appears as 'de insula,' and Do Redvers was Lord of the Isle certainly."

In the face of such an authority, I willingly sink any conjecture of my own as to the probable issuer of this coin, and accept the view of Mr. Montagu, that the letters B. C. IT. I. on the obverse must mean Baldwin de Redvers, Count of the Isle of Wight. As we know, this baron, the second Earl of Devon, took up the cause of the Empress Matilda, and fortified Exeter against Stephen, which resulted in the banishment of himself and family. He died in 1155, and was buried in the Abbey of Ivaraven, Isle of Wight.

This view, however, differs from that expressed by the late Mr. Packe, who suggested that the coin was issued by Brian FitzConut. I do not see how the letters can have this rendering. My only reason for again noticing the subject is, that any thoughtful suggestion as to an historical and unique coin should not be allowed to pass from memory, but be placed on record for the consideration of the members of the Numismatic Society.

SAMUEL PAGE.

XVIII.

HISTORY AND COINAGE OF THE BĀRAKZAI DYNASTY OF AFGHĀNISTĀN.

(See Plates XV—XVI.)

HISTORY.

MR. LONGWORTH DAMES, in a paper published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1888 (vol. viii. p. 325), gave an interesting account of the Durrāni dynasty, and it is my purpose in the following sketch to take up the history of Afghānistān from the point where he left off, and continue it to the present day. The early history of this dynasty is little but a tangled record of wars, plots, and intrigues, with scarcely any material progress, till we reach the reign of the present Amīr. From the death of Mahmūd Shāh in 1829 to 1880, the date of 'Abd ur Rahmān's accession to the throne, a period of little over fifty years, there have been no less than ten Bārakzai chiefs who held power in some part of the Afghān kingdom, and coined money in token of their sovereignty, though of these only six were Amīrs properly so called. It must be remembered, not only that different princes of this line held sway in various provinces of the kingdom at the same time, but that the numismatic period of both dynasties, Durrāni and Bārakzai, partially coincided. This will to some extent explain the complicated nature

of the history of this troublous time. For the materials for the historical sketch contained in the following pages, I am largely indebted to the works of two well-known Orientalists, viz., Mr. Demetrius Boulger's *Asiatic Portraits*, and Mr. Wheeler's *Amir 'Abd ur Rahmān*, in the "Public Men of To-day," Series. The information contained in these volumes, however, would not have sufficed for my purpose, had I not been fortunately able to supplement the details from notes compiled during a long residence on the north-west frontier of India, and especially at Peshāwar, where, from time to time, I had opportunities of meeting many members of both the Royal families (Durrāni and Bārakzai). Perhaps, it will not be out of place to give here, by way of preface, a brief account of the circumstances that led up to the fall of the Durrānis and the consolidation of the Bārakzai power.

In the time of Ahmad Shāh, the first of the Durrāni Kings of Afghānistān, Rahimdād Khān was chief of the Bārakzai clan, and led them in the battle of Herāt. He was subsequently set aside by Timūr Shāh in favour of his younger brother, Pāyindah Khān, at the instance of his turbulent clansmen. Pāyindah Khān, who had already acquired a name for valour and sagacity, was granted the title of "Sarafrāz Khān" by the king, Timur Shāh, and rose to the distinction of "Amīr ul Umura" in the succeeding reign of Shāh Zamān, as a reward for his gallant conduct in the field. To this source may be traced the title adopted by the present rulers of Afghānistān. Rahmatullah Khān, alias Wafadār Khān, was Shāh Zamān's chief minister, and Pāyindah Khān, who could not tolerate a rival near the throne, plotted to destroy him. He accordingly entered into a conspiracy with certain Durrāni and Kizilbāsh chiefs to imprison the king

and put his minister to death. The plot, however, was discovered by Rahmatullah Khān, who informed the king, and in 1799 (1214) Pāyindah Khān was executed. He left twenty-one sons, of whom Dost Mahomed and Fatteh Khān, better known as Wazīr Fattch, are the most celebrated. After his father's death Fatteh Khān, who was the eldest son, fled with his brothers to Mahmūd Shāh in Persia. The Afgān king, Shāh Zamān, was at this time engaged in a war with the Sikhs, and Fatteh Khān thought the opportunity a good one for exacting a signal revenge for his father's death. He accordingly stirred up Mahmūd Shāh, the king's elder half-brother, to strike a blow for the crown. Mahmūd Shāh, acting on his advice, rapidly overran Kandahār, and captured Kābul. He then advanced to meet Shāh Zamān, whom he defeated in a decisive battle near Jelālābād (1800=1215). Shāh Zamān and his minister were taken prisoners. The former was blinded and the latter beheaded. Fatteh Khān succeeded to the office of Wazīr, or chief minister, under Mahmūd Shāh. In 1803 (1218), Shāh Shujā' captured Kābul and forced Mahmūd Shāh to flee to Tirah, where he was joined by his faithful minister, Fatteh Khān. After many vicissitudes they succeeded in getting possession of Kandahār from Mīr 'Ālam Khān, the governor, who was Fatteh Khān's son-in-law.

In 1806 (1221) Fatteh Khān was successful in detaching Qaisar Shāh, the Governor of Kashmīr, from his uncle Shāh Shujā', whose allegiance he renounced. In 1809 (1224) Mahmūd Shāh and his minister captured Kābul with the aid of the Kizilbāsh tribes, and routed Shāh Shujā's army at Nimla. Fatteh Khān's next exploit was the conquest of Kashmīr in 1812 (1227), which was accomplished at the instance, or with the connivance,

of Ranjīt Singh, the Sikh ruler. Fatteh Khān's brother, Mahommed Ā'zam, was appointed governor of the conquered province, and, about the same time, several of his other brothers were nominated to governorships, including Kohāndil Khān at Kandahār. Fatteh Khān was now in the zenith of his power, and practically ruled the State, but the too powerful often come to an evil end in Afghānistān. After the capture of Herāt in 1816 (1232) by the brothers, Fatteh Khān and Dost Mahommed, the latter entered the harem and grossly insulted the king's daughter, who was Kāmrān's full sister. The Dost fled to his brother in Kashmīr to avoid punishment, which was wreaked on the unoffending head of Fatteh Khān, who was blinded and subsequently beheaded by Mahmūd Shāh's orders (1817=1233). This perfidious action on the part of the king and his fiery son sealed the fate of the Durrāni dynasty. Dost Mahommed lost no time in avenging his brother's death, and in 1818 (1234) defeated Mahmūd Shāh and Kāmrān near Kābul. They were forced to fly to Herat, where their army melted away. Mahmūd Shāh ruled in Herāt till his death in 1819 (1235), and was succeeded there by his son Kāmrān. After the defeat and flight of Mahmūd Shāh, the Bārakzai chiefs were all-powerful in Afghānistān, but they did not deem the time ripe for openly setting aside the Durrāni princes, and preferred to continue ruling as Mayors of the palace to effete scions of that line, rather than assert their own claims to the kingly diadem, which at this juncture might have proved dangerous to the wearer. Ayyūb Shāh and Sultān 'Ali, younger brothers of Mahmūd Shāh, were accordingly proclaimed Amīrs, the former by Mahommed Ā'zam in Peshāwar, and the latter by Dost Mahommed in Kābul (1819=1234). Dost Mahommed,

however, seems to have speedily relinquished the claims of his *protégé*, as we find him, a little later, acquiescing in the enthronement of Ayyūb Shāh at Kābul, where he had been conducted by Mahomed Ā'zam. Ayyūb Shāh remained a puppet in the hands of his powerful protectors, the Bārakzai chiefs. His brief reign at Kābul was distracted by quarrels between Dost Mahomed and his brothers, and it does not surprise us to hear that he retired to Peshāwar in the first year of his accession. He continued, however, to exercise nominal sovereignty in the Peshāwar valley till 1831 (1247), under the control of his able Wazīr, Sultān Mahomed, another of the Dost's brothers. On Dost Mahomed's accession to power the Afghān kingdom was shorn of three of its most important provinces, Kashmīr, Peshāwar, and Herāt, of which the first two were never recovered. Kashmīr was occupied by the Sikhs in 1819 (1234). Peshāwar was ruled by Sultān Mahomed, either alone or under the nominal supremacy of Ayyūb Shāh, till it fell into the hands of the Sikhs in 1834 (1250). Herāt remained under the Durrāni princes, Mahmūd Shāh and his son Kāmrān, till the latter's death in 1842 (1258), and, thereafter, was under Persian domination till its final capture by the Dost in 1863 (1280), the year of his death. Even Kandahār was for long periods divorced from allegiance to the central power at Kābul, and from 1840 (1256) to 1850 (1267), and again from 1856 (1273) to 1861 (1278), was governed as an independent state by the Dost's brother, Kohāndil Khān. Dost. Mahomed, profiting by the dissensions among his brothers, who were all greedy for power and jealous of each other, established himself at Kābul in 1822-23 (1238-39), but he does not appear to have assumed the title of Amir till 1834 (1250).

The early history of the Dost's reign consists of little but a monotonous record of struggles between him and his brothers, relieved only by indecisive campaigns against the Sikhs, in which the young Akbar Khān greatly distinguished himself. In 1834 (1250) Shāh Shujā' made an attempt on Kandahār, but was driven back by the Dost's forces. It was after this victory that Dost Mahomed first assumed the title of Amīr. In 1839 (1255) Shāh Shujā' was restored to the Afghān throne by British aid. The Dost made a stand at Bājgāh, but was defeated and fled. Returning, he gained a resultless victory at Parwāndarrah, but, seeing the hopelessness of further resistance, surrendered to the British envoy. He was deported to India, and lived there on a pension. Shāh Shujā' ruled at Kābul till 1842 (1258), when he was killed in a popular *émeute*, stirred up by the Dost's son, Akbar Khān. Shāh Shujā's son, Fatteh Jang, was maintained in power at Kābul for a few months by Akbar Khān, but was expelled soon after his accession, together with his brothers, after a brief and inglorious reign. The Dost returned to Kābul with the consent of the British Government, and regained his kingdom without striking a blow. The year that witnessed the death of Shāh Shujā', and the expulsion of his sons from Kābul, was equally fatal to Kāmrān, who was slain at Herāt by his Wazīr, Yār Mahomed Khān. Thus it was not till 1842 (1258), that the last vestige of Durrāni power in Afghānistān was swept away. Subjoined is a genealogical tree of the Bārakzai family, which, however, only includes names of note.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

Hājī Khān.

Rahimdad Khān.		Payindah Khān.		Timur Koli		Dost Mahomed.	
Fateh Khan	Kohāndil Khan.	Mihrdil Khan.	Yār Mahomed	Sultan Mahomed.	Pir Mahomed	Mahomed 'Azim.	Seyad
(No issue of note.)	(No issue of note.)	Khan.	Paiz	Paiz	Paiz	(No issue of note.)	Timur Koli
Mahomed Kuli.	Wāli Sher Ali.	Sher Ali.	Mahomed	Nur	Sher	Nur	Dost Mahomed.
Mahomed Hasan.	'Ali	'Ali	Mahomed.	Mahomed.	Bahadur	Mahomed.	
			Sher Ahmed.	Zakariya Khan.	Yāhiya Khan.	Abdul Kudus.	Sultan Ahmad,
							m. Bīdhah Begum,
							daughter of Dost Mahomed.
Mahomed Akbar.	Sher 'Ali.	Mahomed Sherif.	Gholam Hyder.	Mahomed Afzal.	Mahomed 'Azam.	Mahomed	Felz
Jelal ud din.		Mahomed	(No issue.)				Mahomed Amru.
		Ishabim.		'Abd ur Rahmān.	Mahomed Ishak.	Nur	(No issue of note.)
Mahomed Ali.	Mahomed Y'aakub	Ayyub	Abdullah.	Habibullah	Nasrullah	Mahomed	Mahomed Ismail.
Turahim.	Khan.	Jān.	Khan.	(Born, 1872.)	(Born, 1875.)	'Umar.	
						(Born, 1889).	
						By Gulbez, a slave-girl	
						of Wakhān.	

N.B.—The names in bold type are those of chiefs who coined money in their own names.

I will now proceed to add a few notes from the life history of the most notable characters shown in the preceding table.

DOST MAHOMMED.

He was Pāyindah Khān's twentieth son by a Kizilbash mother of the Shiah faith. He was his father's favourite, but his elder brothers looked down on him as the son of a low-born and heretical mother. In his childhood, of which little is known, he was employed at his mother's desire to sweep out the shrine of the Mehtar Lām Sāhib. He was eight years old in 1799 (1214), when his father was executed for conspiring against Shāh Zamān, and accompanied his brother Fatteh Khān in his flight to Persia, where they joined the party of Mahmūd Shāh. On Fatteh Khān's accession to power as Mahmūd Shāh's Wazir, Dost Mahomed entered his service as page, and a strong feeling of affection grew up between them. The Dost played no inconsiderable part in the dissensions that soon arose between his brothers, and it was largely owing to his skill and gallantry that the family was not destroyed root and branch. He increased his reputation by two victories over Shāh Shujā', the restless adventurer, who never ceased to plot against his brothers' throne. Able and daring as Dost Mahomed showed himself, however, we cannot shut our eyes to his glaring faults. Cruel and unscrupulous, he never turned from any deed, however atrocious, if it in any way assisted his ambitious schemes, and several cold-blooded murders, including that of his brother's secretary, have left an indelible stain on his reputation. The Dost was sent with his brother in 1812 (1227) to suppress the revolt of Atā Mahomed

Khān, the governor of Kashmīr. This expedition was successful, and Mahomed 'Azīm Khān, Fatteh Khān's brother, was appointed governor of the conquered state. On their way back they were attacked by the Sikhs at Chach, and sustained a defeat. Shortly after their return to Kābul, Persian intrigues took the brothers with an army to Herāt, which was ultimately captured through stratagem by Dost Mahomed. Firoz Khān, the governor, was made prisoner, but the Dost's triumph was very brief.

He had, as previously related, incurred Kāmrān's vengeance, and as Fatteh Khān, the minister, had expressed his determination to punish the offender, no course remained open to Dost Mahomed but flight. He accordingly sought refuge with his brother Mahomed 'Azīm, in Kashmīr. The murder of Fatteh Khān, the defeat of the royal troops by Dost Mahomed, and the flight of Mahmūd Shāh and Kāmrān to Herāt, are events, already noted, that followed each other in rapid succession. The Dost and his brothers were now masters of the situation, and as much of Afgānistān as remained was parcelled out among them. Ghazni fell to the Dost, but it may be surmised that he did not intend to be put off with such a small and unimportant province. Mahomed 'Azīm, who had proclaimed Ayyub Shāh as Amīr, and acted as his minister, had now a large share of power. His brothers, however, were not satisfied, and so intrigues and dissensions arose between them, which the Dost utilised for his own purpose. He accompanied his brother, the minister, to Peshīn to levy tribute from the Amīrs of Sinde, but took a bribe to retire, and Mahomed 'Azīm was accordingly obliged to abandon his project. It is impossible to give a detailed account of the Dost's doings

at this period. He appears to have become for a short time governor of Kohāt, and, subsequently, Ghazni came into his hands by stratagem. Shortly after, his most formidable rival, Mahomed 'Azīm, died in Kābul. Troubles followed his death, but ultimately Dost Mahomed secured possession of Kābul and the Jelālābād valley. Shāh Shujā', thinking the opportunity favourable to his pretensions, attacked Kandahār, but was driven back by Dost Mahomed, whose son, Akbar Khān, added largely to his reputation in this campaign. On the Dost's return to Kābul in 1834 (1250) he assumed the title of Amīr for the first time. After establishing himself at Kābul, he turned his attention to the Sikhs, and led an expedition to the Peshāwar frontier against Ranjit Singh, which, however, ended unsuccessfully. In 1835 (1251) his sons, Afzal Khān and Akbar Khān, engaged in a successful campaign against the Sikhs, in which the celebrated Sikh general, Hari Singh, was defeated and slain at Jamrud. It was after these expeditions against the Sikhs that Dost Mahomed took the title of "Ghāzi." One of his first acts, on the consolidation of his power, was the organization of a standing army, which is said to have numbered 12,000 cavalry, 4,000 infantry, and 50 guns. It was not long before the Dost became embroiled with the British Government. Persia had designs on Herāt, which the British Government determined to resist. Burnes was, accordingly, sent on an embassy to Kābul in 1837 (1253) to discuss the matter. The Dost, however, who had no interest in Herāt, professed his willingness to become the Shāh of Persia's vassal there. The British Government, on the other hand, refused to allow him a footing in Peshāwar, which he hankered after, so the negotiations came to nothing. Captain Vicovitch, the

Russian agent, who came on a visit to Kābul at this time, was warmly welcomed by the Amīr. Burnes had no alternative but to retire, and accordingly withdrew. The British Government then determined to support the claims of Shāh Shujā' to the Afghān throne. War was accordingly declared against Dost Muhammed in 1838 (1254), and the tripartite treaty between Ranjīt Singh, Shāh Shujā', and the British Government signed. Dost Mahommed fled to Bokhūra, where he was seized and imprisoned. He effected his escape, however, to Khulm, and gathering his adherents together, advanced on Kābul. Defeated at Bājgūh, he again took to flight, but, returning soon after, was successful in the skirmish at Parwāndarrah. Seeing, however, that further resistance was hopeless, he surrendered to the British Envoy, MeNaughten, and was deported to Calcutta, where he was allowed a pension of five lakhs a year (1839 = 1255). He remained in India until the close of the second Afghān campaign in 1842 (1258), when, with the permission of the British Government, he returned to Kūbul, and again assumed the reins of government. His son, Akbar Khān, who had been the ruling power at Kūbul for some time, was chagrined to find himself compelled to play a subordinate part. For the next seven years Akbar Khān's relations with his father were much strained, and his *rôle* appears to have been to thwart the Dost's projects of reform in the narrowest conservative spirit. His death in 1849 (1266) must have been a relief to the Dost, who was then able to pursue his liberal policy unchecked. In 1850 (1267) Balkh was conquered, and five years later (1855 = 1272) Khulm, Kunduz, and Badakshān were added to his territory. In 1857 (1274) the Dost concluded a treaty with England, under which he was promised assistance to capture Herāt

from the Persians. This, however, he did not succeed in doing till 1863 (1280), the year of his death. He remained generally friendly to the British Government, though in the second Sikh War he sent a body of cavalry to fight against us. In the great crisis of the Mutiny, however, he remained staunch, a matter of incalculable importance to us at the time. A strong ruler, and a born leader of men, no subsequent Amir has approached him in ability, courage, and resource, if we except 'Abd ur Rahmān, who in many points resembles his illustrious predecessor.

KOHĀNDIL KHĀN.

He was an elder brother of Dost Mahomed, who afterwards became independent ruler of Kandahār from 1840 (1256) to 1850 (1267), and again from 1856 (1273) to 1861 (1278), though he never ventured to put his own name on the coins he struck. He had previously exercised subordinate authority there, as governor for Mahmūd Shāh, a post to which he had been nominated by his brother, Fatteh Khān. He played a prominent part in the quarrels that arose between the Dost and his brothers, after Mahmūd Shāh's expulsion from Kābul.

WĀLI SHER 'ALI.

This was the son of Mehrdil Khān, another of the Dost's brothers. A devoted adherent of Amir Sher 'Ali, he was kept under surveillance by Mahomed Afzal Khān, but succeeded in escaping to Sher 'Ali in 1866 (1283). In 1867 (1284), he was charged with a letter to the Indian Government, asking for their assistance on Sher 'Ali's behalf. He fought on the side of Sher 'Ali against Ma-

hommed Ā'zam and 'Abd ur Rahmān at the battle of Kandahār. In 1868 (1285) we find him at Kandahār as governor. In 1870 (1287) he successfully resisted the siege of that city by Y'akūb Khān, Sher 'Alī's son, who was then in rebellion against his father. In 1871 (1288) he was charged with peculation before the Amīr, Sher 'Alī, but escaped punishment through the good offices of his relation, the mother of Abdullah Jān, the Amīr's favourite son, and was confirmed in the governorship of Kandahār. In 1872 (1289) fresh charges of peculation were brought against him, and he was summoned to Kābul to answer them. He remained there under a cloud till the outbreak of the Afghān war. After the defeat of Sher 'Alī's army at the Peiwar Kotal, he was despatched to the Russian general, Kaufman, for assistance, but his mission proved abortive. In 1879 (1297) he was again appointed Governor of Kandahār by the Amīr Y'akūb Khān, after the Treaty of Gandamak. In 1880 (1298) he advanced with the British force to oppose Ayyūb Khān, but his troops revolted and were defeated near Girishk. After the battle of Kandahār 1880 (1298), in which Ayyūb Khān sustained a crushing defeat, he gave up the governorship of Kandahār, and retired on a liberal pension to Karāchi, where he has resided ever since. He is always known as the Wāli (or governor) Sher 'Alī, to distinguish him from his namesake and cousin, the Amīr. In 1879 (1297) he coined money in his own name, but his coins are rare.

'ALĪ MAHOMMED.

He was the grandson of Yār Mahomed, sometime governor of Herūt. He entered the service of the Mahārāja of Kashmīr, but was in Kābul in 1879 (1297), when

the Residency was attacked, after which he again left for Jammu. In 1880 (1298) he was expelled from Kashmîr, and placed under surveillance in India. He was afterwards arrested and charged with complicity in the murder of Cavagnari and his companions, but was acquitted for want of proof. He was granted a small pension by the Indian Government, which was stopped in 1882 (1300), since when he has led a wandering life.

SULTĀN MAHOMMED.

This brother of Dost Mahomed controlled for many years the destinies of the Peshāwar Valley, both as governor and independent ruler. In 1813 (1229) he was first appointed governor of Peshāwar, through the influence of his brother, Fatteh Khān, the all-powerful minister of Mahmūd Shāh. In 1819 (1234), when Ayyūb Shāh, the Durrāni king, retired to Peshāwar from Kābul, Sultān Mahomed continued to rule the valley as his Wazīr. About the year 1831 (1247) he appears to have become independent ruler of Peshāwar, and remained so till 1834 (1250), when it fell into the possession of the Sikhs. His appointment as governor was confirmed by the Sikh government, who found his administration efficient and popular. Subsequently, however, he incurred the displeasure of the Sikhs, who put him in prison. He was released by Sir Henry Lawrence at Lahore, and repaid this service by betraying his brother, George Lawrence, to the Sikh chief, Chattar Singh. He struck coins in the name of "Sultān i Zamān" (Sovereign of the Age) during his brief tenure of supreme power. His son, Nūr Mahomed, was governor of Kandahār in 1884 (1302). Of Nūr Mahomed's four sons, one, Sher Ahmad, is now a

deputy-magistrate in the Panjāb. Two others, Zakarīā Khān and Yāhiya Khān, are refugees in India, where they were deported in 1879 (1297). The daughter of Yāhiya Khān was married to the Amīr, Y'akūb Khān, and, on the latter's rebellion Yāhiya Khān was expelled from Kābul by Sher 'Alī. He took refuge in Kashmīr till Y'akūb Khān ascended the throne, when he was recalled to Kābul and installed as the Amīr's chief adviser. He was present in Kābul during the attack on the Residency, and now shares Y'akūb Khān's exile at Dehra Dūn. A fourth son, Abdul Kudāus, was made governor of Tasbkurgān on 'Abd ur Rahmān's elevation to the throne. In 1881 (1299) he was transferred to Herāt, but was recalled in the following year, and executed on a charge of peculation.

PİR MAHOMMED.

This was another of Pāyindah Khān's sons, who governed Peshāwar for some time as Mahmūd Shāh's viceroy. One of his sons, Sher Mahomed, now lives in Kābul on an allowance from the Amīr. In 1880 (1298) he was sent by Sir Lepel Griffin on a mission to 'Abd ur Rahmān at Khānābād. Another son, Bahādur Khān, sided with Mahomed Afzal Khān in his struggle with Sher 'Alī, and fled to Kashmīr when the latter became Amīr. He remained there till 1880 (1298) when he was expelled by the Mahārāja. He then retired to Amritsar, where he lived on a small pension from the Indian Government.

WAZĪR FATTĀH.

A sufficiently full account of this remarkable man has been given in the preceding pages. His grandson, Ma-

hommed Hasan, a devoted partisan of Y'akūb Khān, was imprisoned with him by Sher 'Alī. He became governor of Jelālabād on Sher 'Alī's death, fought against us at the battle of Charasiūb, and joined Ayyūb Khān in 1881 (1299). After the battle of Kandahār he fled to Persia, but returned in 1882 (1300), disguised as a Fakīr, and joined Seyad Mahmūd Shāh of Kunar against the present Amīr. In 1883 (1301) he raised the Shinwāris against him, and on their defeat fled to Tirah. He next stirred up the Mangals to revolt, and on its suppression took refuge again in Tirah, making his way thence to the Shinwāri country. He is the most active and intelligent of the Bārakzai Sardārs.

MAHOMMED 'AZĪM KHĀN.

This was another brother of the Dost, who was made governor of Kashmīr in 1812 (1227), through the influence of Wazīr Fatteh, after the suppression of Atā Mahomed Khān's revolt. The coins of the Kashmīr mint attributed to this chief by Mr. Dames were really struck by him in the name of his Suzerain, Mahmūd Shāh, then reigning in Kābul. In 1819 (1234), he came to Peshāwar, and having proclaimed Ayyūb Shāh as Amīr, conducted him to Kābul. In the same year Kashmīr was incorporated in the Sikh dominions. The rest of Mahomed 'Azīm Khān's history is mixed up with that of the Dost, who furthered his own ambitious schemes by checkmating his brother. Though nominally Ayyūb Shāh's minister, Mahomed 'Azīm Khan had but the semblance of power. It has already been stated that he was obliged to return *rē infectā* from his expedition to Peshīn against the Sinde Amīrs, owing to Dost Mahomed

med's opposition. We next find him at Peshāwar, where he may have accompanied the puppet king Ayyūb Shāh, on his retirement from Kābul. The king and his minister had, doubtless, found their position at Kābul no longer tenable, and to the latter even Peshāwar could hardly have proved a satisfactory place of refuge, as Sultān Mahommed was supreme there. We are not surprised to hear, therefore, that he returned to Kābul, where he shortly after died. His son, Sultān Ahmad, alias Sultān Jān, who was married to the Dost's daughter, Bādshāh Begum, became the governor of Herāt after the death of Seyad Mahommed. His grandson has recently been expelled from Kābul, and is now living in Karāchi on a small pension from Government.

MAHOMMED AKBAR KHĀN.

He was the Dost's eldest and ablest son. A capable leader of men in the field, he distinguished himself in numerous battles against Shāh Shujā', the Sikhs, and, lastly, the British, in the disastrous first Afḡhān war. He had no faith in a standing army, which his father was bent on organizing, and preferred leading the "Ulūs," or clansmen, to battle in loose order and under their tribal chiefs, the system to which they had been accustomed for centuries. There is little to add to the sketch of Akbar Khān's life already given in the history of Dost Mahomed. In 1841 (1257), he killed Sir W. McNaughten at a conference, and the disastrous retreat of our army from Kābul, which followed in 1842 (1258), was as much due to his skill and foresight as to the incompetency of the British generals. He was a man of ungovernable passions, but his character was not without its bright side, as indicated by his chivalrous treatment of the English ladies entrusted

to his charge during the retreat from Kābul. On Shāh Shujā's death in 1842 (1258), Mahommed Akbar proclaimed his son, Fatteh Jang, king in his stead. Though nominally only the King's Wazīr, all real power lay in Mahommed Akbar's hands. Fatteh Jang's reign, however, was destined to be short. Mahommed Akbar intercepted a letter which the king had written to General Pollock, begging for assistance. He was, accordingly, deposed, and, with his brothers, expelled from Kābul. Mahommed Akbar was for the moment supreme in the capital, but his lease of power was brief. The British Government, having at last discovered that the Durrāni dynasty was too feeble to hold its own in Afghānistān without the support of British bayonets, made a virtue of necessity, and permitted the Dost to regain his kingdom. Mahommed Akbar pre-deceased Dost Mahommed, dying in 1849 (1266), and the few remaining years of his life were embittered by profitless quarrels with his father, whose return to power he strongly resented. Mahommed Akbar's son, Jelāluddin, afterwards sided with Mahommed Afzal against Sher 'Alī, but only succeeded in offending both parties. He was deported to Kohūt in 1867 (1284), by Mahommed Ā'zam, and is still, or was till recently, an oxilo from his native country. He has travelled a good deal, having visited Mecca, Egypt, Constantinople, and even Marseilles. He is married to a daughter of Sher 'Alī, but does not live with her. In 1882 (1300) his family by this wife were expelled from Kābul by the present Amīr.

SHER 'ALI.

This, the fifth son of the Dost, was born in 1820 (1236), being Mahommed Akbar's full brother. To use Boulger's

words, "he was above the influence of adverse fortune, great in conception, but weak in execution." He accompanied his father to India and shared his exile. On the death of Gholām Hyder in 1858 (1275) without issue, Sher 'Alī was declared heir to the throne, but this did not prevent the fierce dissensions that broke out between the brothers on their father's death in 1863 (1280). At this critical juncture Sher 'Alī was at Herāt, where the Dost died, Mahommed Ā'zam in Kuram, Mahommed Amin in Kandahār, and Mahommed Afzal in Balkh. Sher 'Alī, leaving his son, Y'akūb Khān, as governor in Herāt, advanced to try conclusions with his rebellious brothers. The campaign commenced in 1864 (1281). Mahommed Ā'zam was beaten, and an indecisive battle was fought with Mahommed Afzal at Bājgāh. A truce was arranged between the contending parties, but 'Abd ur Rahmān, Mahommed Afzal's son, continued to intrigue against Sher 'Alī from Takhtapul. Sher 'Alī, being convinced that the truce was only a pretext to gain time, determined to strike a decisive blow. Mahommed Afzal was accordingly decoyed into his power under a false promise, and thrown into prison. 'Abd ur Rahmān effected his escape to Bokhāra. In the following year (1865 = 1282) Mahommed Amin met Sher 'Alī on the field of Kajhbāz, where the latter was victorious. It was a dearly bought victory however. When the fortunes of the day were still in the balance Sher 'Alī reproached Mahommed 'Alī, his eldest and best-beloved son, with cowardice. The latter, stung to the quick by this unmerited insult, rushed into the thickest of the fight and slew his uncle, Mahommed Amin, with his own hand, receiving his death-blow at the same time. This heroic charge decided the day in Sher 'Alī's favour, and the fall of Kandahār quickly fol-

lowed. The Amīr, however, became inconsolable at the loss of his favourite son, and lapsed into a state of lethargy, of which 'Abd ur Rahmān was quick to take advantage. Misfortunes now followed thick on Sher 'Alī. 'Abd ur Rahmān advanced on Kābul, the defenee of which had been entrusted to the incompetent Ibrāhīm Khūn, another son of Sher 'Alī, better known as "Gunga," or dumb, from an impediment in his speech. Mahommed Rafīk, Sher 'Alī's general, as well as the Amīr's brother, Sharīf Khūn, now joined 'Abd ur Rahmān. Kābul fell in 1866 (1283), and Ibrāhīm Khūn fled to Kandahār, where the Amīr still lingered inactive.

In May of the same year the battle of Shekhābūd was fought, in which Mahommed Ā'zam defeated Sher 'Alī, and compelled him to take refuge in flight. Mahommed Afzal was released on the fall of Ghazni, and proclaimed Amīr at Kābul by his son and brother. Mahommed Afzal now held sway in Kābul and Ghazni, while Sher 'Alī ruled Kandahār and Herāt, and Faiz Mahommed was supreme in Balkh. The change of rulers at Kābul, however, was anything but a blessing to the people, as Mahommed Afzal was a drunken sot, and Mahommed Ā'zam, in whose hands the real power lay, a cruel tyrant. The murder of Mahommed Rafīk turned public opinion in Sher 'Alī's favour. Faiz Mahommed advanced from Balkh on Kābul early in 1867 (1284), but a diversion in his rear made him retrace his steps, and Sher 'Alī's attempt to regain his crown failed. He was defeated by Mahommed Ā'zam at Kelāt-i-Ghilzai, and the fall of Kandahār soon followed. Sher 'Alī's dominion was now confined to Herāt. Mahommed Afzal was recognised as Amīr by the British Government. The civil war, however, was continued in a desultory fashion. Faiz Mahom-

med won a battle near Bāmiān, and in the autumn of 1867 (1284) he advanced on Kābul with Sher 'Alī, but the latter was defeated at the battle of Kila' Allahdād, in which Faiz Mahomed was slain.

In October, 1867 (1284), Mahomed Afzal died, and was succeeded by his brother, Mahomed Ā'zam, who was acknowledged by 'Abd ur Rahmān, now in possession of Balkh. It was now Sher 'Alī's turn to win fortune's smile. In 1868 (1285) Y'akūb Khān, after taking Girishk, defeated Sarwar Khān, Mahomed Ā'zam's governor of Kandahār, at the battle of the Helmand, and followed up his victory by the capture of Kandahār, Kelāt-i-Ghilzai, and Ghazni. In another engagement he also worsted 'Abd ur Rahmān, who had hurried up with reinforcements from Balkh, but this movement cost him Ghazni, which was occupied by Mahomed Ā'zam. On Y'akūb Khān's advance, however, Mahomed Ā'zam was forced to evacuate Kābul, and fled to Balkh.

In the winter of 1868 (1285) Mohammed Ā'zam and 'Abd ur Rahmān made another unsuccessful attempt to oust Sher 'Alī by a *coup de main*, but were defeated by Y'akūb Khān at the battle of Tinak Khān, near Ghazni. Sher 'Alī entered Kābul in triumph, and Mahomed Ā'zam sought refuge in flight. 'Abd ur Rahmān made his way to Balkh, whence he was expelled by Ibrāhīm Khān in 1869 (1286). Sher 'Alī held his first Durbār at Kābul in January, 1869 (1286). Ibrāhīm Khān was now appointed governor of Herāt, and Y'akūb Khān of Kābul. Sher 'Alī was acknowledged Amīr by the British Government, who supplied him with arms and ammunition. He interviewed the Viceroy, Lord Mayo, at the Umbālla Durbār in 1869 (1286), but returned disappointed, as he had failed to secure any definite assurance of support from the British

Government. His feeling of resentment was intensified by the subsequent action of the same Government, especially in the matter of the Seistūn frontier dispute, the occupation of Quetta, the interference in favour of Y'akūb Khān, whom the Amīr had imprisoned, the rejection of his overtures for an alliance against Russia, and, lastly, the proposal in 1877 (1294) for making his kingdom an advanced post against Russia. All this, as might have been expected, resulted in his throwing himself into the arms of Russia. So, declining to receive an English mission in 1878 (1296) under Sir Neville Chamberlain, he welcomed a Russian Embassy under General Stolitoff to Kābul. Such a proceeding could have but one ending. War was declared, and the British troops advanced into Afghānistān in three columns. Sher'Ali, seeing, when it was too late, the uselessness of expecting any overt aid from Russia, evacuated Kābul in December, 1878 (1296), and died in February, 1879 (1296) at Mazār i Sherīf on his way to Russian territory. He followed his father's example in the pains he took to organize a standing army, which is said to have numbered 6,400 horse, 37,000 foot, and 100 guns, in addition to which there were 3,500 irregular infantry, and 8,000 cavalry. These so-called trained troops, however, fell to pieces at the first trial. At the battle of the Peiwar Kotal they made no stand, which is in striking contrast with the conduct of the tribesmen, who, a little later, at Ahmad Kheyī, gave such a good account of themselves. Sher'Ali, in the concluding years of his reign, displayed his unfriendliness towards us in various ways, and, amongst others, by stirring up the frontier tribes against us, as in the case of the Jowākis in 1878 (1296). Of the Amīr's five sons, two, Mahomed 'Ali and Abdullah Jān, predeceased him, and the other

three, Y'akūb Khān, Ayyūb Khān, and Ibruhīm Khān, are still alive, all detinues in India. Mahommed 'Ali, the eldest, was killed at Kajhbaz in 1865 (1282). Abdullah Jān, the youngest, was then named heir, but died in 1877 (1294). Mahommed Ibruhīm now lives at Rawulpindi on a pension from the British Government. He is almost half-witted, and, though, during his father's lifetime, he filled important positions, he never distinguished himself in any way. He was entrusted with the defence of Kābul in 1866 (1283), and in 1869 (1286) became governor of Herāt.

Y'AKŪB KHĀN.

This, the third son of the Amīr Sher 'Ali, was born in 1849 (1266), his mother being a daughter of the Khān of Lālpūra. On Dost Mahomed's death in 1863 (1280) he was left in charge of Herāt, while his father advanced on Kandahār. It was about this time that the celebrated traveller Vambèry met him in Herāt, and, young though he was, Y'akub Khān at once penetrated his disguise. Indeed, his early youth showed bright promise, which his later years belied. In 1868 (1284) occurred that remarkable campaign, in which Y'akūb Khān, though only a lad of nineteen, gained a series of brilliant successes over his uncle and cousin, culminating in the crowning victory of Tinak Khān, which proved him to possess all the qualifications of a skilful commander in war. In 1869 (1286) he ruled the kingdom as Viceroy during his father's absence in India, and, subsequently, filled important administrative posts as governor of Kābul, Kandahār, and Herāt. Sher 'Ali, however, was jealous of his too-able son, and displayed a marked preference for Abdullah Jān, which Y'akūb Khan naturally resented. In 1870 (1287),

the Amīr having declined to acknowledge him as heir, he broke into open rebellion, and fled to Kandahār with his brother Ayyūb Khān, and some 700 horsemen. Failing to capture the city he took refuge in Persia in 1871 (1288), but in May of the same year Herāt came into his possession. Through the good offices of the Indian Government, he soon afterwards became reconciled to his father, and having gone to Kābul to beg his forgiveness, was sent back as governor of Herāt. In 1873 (1290) Abdullah Jān was definitely named heir to the throne, and this brought matters to a crisis. Y'akūb Khān, having meanwhile got into financial straits, was anxious to arrange a settlement with his father, the basis of which, it may be surmised, was the cancellation of Abdullah Jān's nomination as heir to the throne. In 1874 (1291) he accepted an invitation to Kābul on the promise of a safe conduct. The Amīr swore on the Korān that he would let him return with his followers within ten days, and also that he would not be required to wait upon Abdullah Jān. No sooner, however, did Sher 'Alī get him in his power, than he threw him into prison, where he remained for four years. Sher 'Alī released him in 1878 (1296) when he abandoned Kābul on the eve of the British advance, and named him his representative. On Y'akūb Khān's accession to the throne in March, 1879, he began by being very friendly towards the British Government, and agreed to the terms of the Treaty of Gandamak, though demurring at first to the cession of Peshīn, Sibi, and Kuram. His long incarceration, however, had quite transformed Y'akūb Khān's character, and he now showed himself utterly incapable of governing an unruly nation like the Afghāns. Shortly after the retirement of the British force, the embassy under Sir Louis Cavagnari was installed in Kābul. Within three weeks

(in September) the Residency was attacked by a fanatical mob, and the whole personnel of the Embassy murdered. Y'akūb Khān, in fact, finding popular opinion in Kābul against his policy, and stung by the reproaches of his brother Ayyūb Khān, had begun to tire of the English alliance. He began to vacillate, but the soldiery took the matter out of his hands by the massacre at the Residency. There can be little doubt that he could have prevented the catastrophe had he had the nerve or inclination to do so, but he either sympathised in secret with the murderers, or feared to thwart them. Retribution was not long in coming. Within a few weeks General Roberts's force had advanced on Kābul, and Y'akūb Khān, under the impression that he would thereby delay the hour of vengeance, paid a visit to the British camp. He was made a prisoner, and saw his army defeated at Charasiāb. Kābul was occupied by the British troops, and in December, 1879, after an inglorious reign of nine months, Y'akūb Khān was deported to India, where he still lives an exile. His eldest son, Mūsa Khān, fled with Ayyūb Khān to Persia after the battle of Kandahār, and died there.

AYYŪB KHĀN.

This Sardār is Y'akūb Khān's full brother, and was the fourth son of Sher 'Alī. In 1874 (1291) he fled to Persia, dreading his brother's fate. He lived in Meshed till 1879 (1297) when he was summoned by Y'akūb Khān and appointed to the governorship of Herāt. In 1880 (1293) he advanced on Kandahār and in July of the same year defeated General Burrows at Maiwand. In September he was himself defeated by General Roberts at the battle of Kandahār, and fled to Herāt, where he remained till

1881 (1299). In July of that year he advanced again, defeated the Amīr's troops at Girishk, and captured Kandahār. In September he was in turn routed by 'Abd ur Rahmān, and fled to Persia. In 1887 (1305), taking advantage of the Amīr's difficulties with the Ghilzais, he made another attempt to enter Afghānistān. The frontier, however, was too closely watched, and, finding his project impracticable, he surrendered to General Maclean, the British Consul-General at Meshed. He is now a political détinué, and lives in Rawulpindi on a liberal pension from the Indian Government.

MAHOMMED HĀSHIM KHĀN.

This son of Sher 'Ali's brother, Sharīf Khān, is an exile in Meshed. He is the most wealthy of the Bārakzai refugees, and is married to a sister of Abdullab Jān. After Y'akūb Khān's abdication he was one of the unsuccessful pretenders to the throne.

MAHOMMED AFZAL KHĀN.

This son of Dost Mahomed shared his father's exile in India. On the Dost's death in 1863 (1280), he was governor of Balkh. He at first acknowledged Sher 'Ali, but urged by his ambitious son, 'Abd ur Rahmān, got himself proclaimed Amīr of Afghān Turkestān in 1864 (1281), and advanced against his brother. An indecisive campaign followed and a settlement was brought about between the opposing parties, under which Mahomed Afzal was to retain independent charge of Afghān Turkestān, except Maimena, Kunduz, and Kattaghan. Sher 'Ali, however, had no intention of adhering to the terms of the treaty,

and, getting Mahomed Afzal Khān into his power by a ruse, threw him into prison. He was liberated after the Battle of Shekhābād (May, 1866), in which Mahomed Ā'zam and 'Abd ur Rahmān defeated Sher 'Alī. Mahomed Afzal was then proclaimed Amīr of Afgħānistān, and retained the empty title till his death in October, 1867. He was nothing but a tool in the hands of the blood-thirsty Mahomed Ā'zam, and wholesale proscriptions followed his accession, due to his brother's malign influence. At first, as Mahomed Afzal Khān was only ruler of part of the Afgħān kingdom (Kābul, Ghazni, and Balkh), the Viceroy addressed him as "Wāli," or governor, but, after Sher 'Alī's defeat at Kelāt i Ghilzai in 1867 (1284), he was dignified with the appellation of Amīr of Kābul and Kandahār. His death at a comparatively early age was accelerated, if not directly caused, by habits of intemperance.

MAHOMMED Ā'ZAM KHĀN.

This, another son of Dost Mahomed, disputed Sher 'Alī's claim to the throne on his father's death in 1863 (1280). He was at this time governor of Kuram. Sustaining a defeat in 1864 (1281) at Sher 'Alī's hands he took refuge in British territory. In 1865 (1282), he stirred up a revolt in Kuram, but the defeat and death of his brother Amin Khān at the battle of Kajhbāz destroyed his hopes, for a time at least, in Southern Afgħānistān. He accordingly made his way to Bāmiān and joined his nephew, 'Abd ur Rahmān, who was marching on Kābul to support his father's claims to the throne. Sher 'Alī's defeat at Shekhābād and the proclamation of Mahomed Afzal's accession to the throne followed in

1866 (1283). Mahommed Ā'zam virtually controlled the administration during his brother's short reign, and succeeded him on his death in October, 1867 (1284). The Indian Government at once acknowledged him as Amīr of Kābul and Kandahār. He was a blood-thirsty tyrant, though an adept in the tortuous ways of diplomacy, and no mean administrator. His was truly a reign of terror, and few, if any, sovereigns of Afḡhānistān were so unpopular. In 1868 (1285) he abandoned Kābul, on which the victorious Y'akūb Khān was advancing, and fled to Balkh. In the winter of the same year, he, in conjunction with 'Abd ur Rahmān, again tried conclusions with Y'akub Khān, but they were badly beaten at the battle of Tinak Khān. Mahommed Ā'zam escaped to Waziristān, and died at Shahrūd early in 1869 (1286) on his way to Persia.

MAHOMMED ISHĀK KHĀN.

This son of Mahommed Ā'zam by an Armenian lady, the daughter of Timūr, a wine-merchant, was born in 1844 (1260), the year of 'Abd ur Rahmān's birth. He was in command of 'Abd ur Rahmān's forces in Afḡhān Turkestān, when the latter was defeated near Ghazni by Sher 'Alī in the winter of 1868 (1285). He held out for some time in Turkestān, but eventually joined 'Abd ur Rahmān in exile at Samarkand, where he lived on a pension from the Russian Government. In 1871 (1288) he asked for permission to reside in India. This was granted on certain conditions, which, however, he declined to accept. In 1873 (1290) he visited Badakhshān and tried to create a disturbance there in favour of the ex-Amīr Jehāndār Shāh, though without success. In 1879 (1297) he accompanied 'Abd ur Rahmān to Afḡhānistān, and materially

contributed to his nephew's success in Turkestān, where he was appointed governor on the former's elevation to the throne. As he was able and popular, the Amīr was at first afraid to interfere with him, and left him practically independent. Ishāk Khān paid no tribute and appointed his own deputy governors and military officers, but the chief revenue officials were nominated by the Amīr, and sent in their accounts to Kābul for inspection. A fanatic in religion, his administration was rigid and efficient, which was largely due to the tractableness of the Uzbeg population. The Amīr, however, was only biding his time, and, accordingly, when he felt himself securely seated on his throne, he summoned Ishāk Khān to Kābul. Ishāk Khān refused the invitation and sent in his place a subordinate, whom the Amīr beheaded. A revolt ensued, and Ishāk Khān declared his independence. He was, however, defeated in September, 1888, by the Amīr's general, Gholām Hyder Orakzai, and fled to Russian territory, where he now lives on a pension from the Russian Government.

WALI MAHOMMED KHĀN.

This son of Dost Mahomed was born in 1829 (1245). He was Faiz Mahomed's full, and Sher 'Alī's half brother. In 1864 (1281) he declared for Mahomed Afzal Khān, and was made governor of Akcha, but was shortly after superseded by Faiz Mahomed, his loyalty being doubtful. On Mahomed Afzal Khān's imprisonment by Sher 'Alī, he fled with Faiz Mahomed to Bokhāra, and joined 'Abd ur Rahmān there. He quickly, however, made his peace with Sher 'Alī, and was nominated governor of Kābul in 1865 (1282), when Sher 'Alī advanced against Amin Khān, the ruler of Kandahār.

A veritable weathercock in politics, he next coquetted with Mahommed Ā'zam, and was, soon after, superseded at Kābul by Sher 'Ali's son, Ibrahim Khān. In 1866 (1283), he openly joined Mahommed Ā'zam, who gave him Ghazni, as a Jagir, and left him in charge of Kābul before the battle of Shekhūbād. Wali Mahommed Khān again made overtures to Sher 'Ali, but Mahommed Ā'zam suspected his designs, and sent him to Kandahār under close arrest. In 1867 (1284) he was released from confinement by Mahommed Ā'zam's mutinous soldiery, after which he seems to have thrown in his lot with Sher 'Ali. In 1869 (1286) we find him in Kābul in enjoyment of a Jagir worth 60,000 rupees a year. He was subsequently appointed Sher 'Ali's deputy in Kuram, but was dismissed in 1876 (1293) and summoned to Kābul. In 1877 (1294) he was again made governor of Kuram, but returned to Kābul in 1878 (1295). During the British occupation in 1879 (1297) he was placed in charge of the city of Kābul, and on Y'akūb Khān's abdication put forward a claim to the throne. On 'Abd ur Rahmān's accession he retired to Peshāwar, where he lived till his death, some years ago, on a pension of 4000 rupees a month. The coins attributed to Wali Mahommed Khān were issued anonymously in 1879 during the British occupation. Weak, shifty, and corrupt, his administrative career was, in no case, a success.

NUR MAHOMMED KHĀN.

This, the son of the last named, was imprisoned in the end of 1875 (1292) by Y'akūb Khān, under Sher 'Ali's orders, for giving the Peshāwar authorities information of the Rūssian Mission to Kābul. He was sent to Afghān Turkestān by General Roberts, as the representative of

the Kābul Government, but his mission proved unsuccessful as 'Abd ur Rahmān had arrived there before him, and assumed the administration. He accompanied his father to India and shared his exile. He subsequently proved a thorn in the side of the Indian Government, having found his way to Tirah and the Shinwāri country, where he employed himself in stirring up the frontier tribes to rebellion against the Amīr.

FAIZ MAHOMMED KHĀN.

This Sardār, another of the Dost's numerous progeny, held Balkh for Sher 'Ali in the early part of his reign, but in 1865 (1282) declared for 'Abd ur Rahmān. In 1867 (1284) he advanced on Kābul to support Sher 'Ali, whose ally he had again become, but a diversion in Balkh made him hasten back. Later on, he won a battle for Sher 'Ali near Bāmiān. In the autumn of 1867, he, and Sher 'Ali, advanced together on Kābul, but were defeated in the battle of Kila' Allahdūd, in which Faiz Mahomed was slain.

MAHOMMED AMĪN KHĀN.

A brother of Sher 'Ali, Mahomed Amīn was governor of Kandahār at the time of Dost Mahomed's death in 1863. He took a prominent part in the early dissensions between the sons of the Dost, but was defeated and slain in the battle of Kajhbāz in 1865 (1282).

'ABD UR RAHMĀN.

This, the present Amīr, was the son of Mahomed Afzal Khān, and was born in 1844 (1260). Dost Mahomed had named Sher 'Ali as his successor, passing

over Mahommed Afzal and Mahommed Ā'zam, as the former was the son of a lady of royal race, whereas the latter were his children by a Bungash woman of Kuram. On the Dost's death in 1863 (1280), when the lad was nineteen, Mahommed Afzal was governor of Balkh. 'Abd ur Rahmān was not present at the battle of Bājgāh, which was fought in 1864 (1281), as he had been left in charge of Takhtapul. Sher 'Alī, suspecting his designs, ordered him to proceed to Kābul, which he declined to do. Then followed Mahommed Afzal's imprisonment and the flight of 'Abd ur Rahmān to Bokhāra. In 1865 (1282) the latter got together some 200 followers with the aid of the Amir of Bokhāra and marched into Afghān Turkestān. Faiz Mahommed, the governor of Akcha, went over to his side, and, subsequently, the whole of Balkh declared in his favour. Having made himself master of the whole country between the Oxus and the Hindūkūsh, 'Abd ur Rahmān was joined, at the closo of 1865 (1282), by Mahommed Ā'zam from India. In 1866 (1283) they captured Kābul, defeated Sher 'Alī at Shekhābād, and released the imprisoned Mahommed Afzal, who was at once taken to Kābul and crowned there. In 1867 (1284) Sher 'Alī made another attempt to regain his throne, but was repulsed in the battles of Kelāt i Ghilzai, and Kila' Allahdād. After the latter engagement 'Abd ur Rahmān returned to Kābul, where Mahommed Ā'zam had preceded him, but his father had died three days before his arrival. 'Abd ur Rahmān, finding that he was not strong enough to hold the throne, acquiesced in his uncle's accession, and contented himself with the office of Commander-in-Chief. 'Abd ur Rahmān, doubtless, felt that there was not room in Kābul for two such ambitious men, and accordingly, we find him moving to Balkh after the completion of the prescribed term of

mourning. After the capture of Maimena and Akcha, which still held out for Sher 'Ali, 'Abd ur Rahmān fell back on Takhtapul. In the spring campaign of 1868 (1285) he made no serious effort to assist Mahommed Ā'zam, who, outmanœuvred by Y'akūb Khān, was forced to take to flight, and joined 'Abd ur Rahmān in Balkh. Their last attempt to oust Sher 'Ali resulted in the disaster of Tinak Khān in the winter of 1868 (1285). They fled to Wazīristān, and thence, *via* Belūchistān, to Seistān. Here they separated, 'Abd ur Rahmān making his way to Meshed, and thence to Bokhāra, *via* Khiva. The Bokhāra Amīr, Mozuffer ud dīn, having placed him under some restraint, he opened up communication with the Russian Governor-General, Kaufmann, who offered him a hearty welcome, but declined to interfere on his behalf in Afgānistān. He was allowed a pension by the Russian Government, and lived for ten years an exile in Samarkand. He passed himself off as a man of dull intellect in order to cloak his intrigues, from which he never ceased. Always on the look-out for an opportunity to further his own interests, he fomented a disturbance in Badakhshān in 1873 (1290). On Sher 'Ali's death in 1879 (1297) 'Abd ur Rahmān thought he saw his chance, and sounded the Russian authorities on the subject, but they threw cold water on his enterprise, and led him to understand that, if he failed, they would not afford him an asylum again. He accordingly remained on at Samarkand, while Y'akūb Khān was making terms with the English. Then came the massacre at the Kābul Residency, and Y'akub Khān's deportation to India. This was 'Abd ur Rahmān's opportunity. He was encouraged in his attempt by the *locum tenens* of the Russian Governor-General, who gave him 200 breech-loaders, and £2,500 in money. He had also succeeded in

saving £16,500 from his allowance. He started with a hundred followers and proceeded to Ghori, in Afghān Turkestān, via Hissār and Kunduz. Here Sultān Murād, the chief of the Kattaghan Uzbegs, helped him with money and clothing, though avowing friendship with the British. Before long he was joined by Mīr Sūra Beg, the governor of Kolāb, and the Mīrs of Badakhshān. The Kābul troops, too, in Turkestān having been bribed, declared in his favour, whereupon their commander, Gholām Hyder Wardak, fled to Bokhāra.

Mazār i Sherīf was captured, and soon Maimena was the only place that held out against him. Protracted negotiations ensued with the British Government, who, though anxious to have a strong ruler at Kābul, were not prepared to guarantee his throne. They were also determined to place Kandahār under a separate ruler. 'Abd ur Rahmān was informed that the British Government would not interfere in the internal management of the kingdom, and would support the Amīr against unprovoked aggression in the event of his following their advice in his external relations. They also agreed that they would not insist on keeping a British Resident at Kābul. 'Abd ur Rahmān, who wanted Afghānistān constituted a neutral state under the joint protection of England and Russia, and no doubt, too, hankered after Kandahār, at first avoided giving a decisive answer. Troubles ensued which were, doubtless, fomented by him. At last, after reiterated invitations, 'Abd ur Rahmān proceeded to Charikār in July, 1880 (1298), and shortly after was proclaimed Amīr at Kābul. He was given thirty guns and some money, and, at his earnest request, the fortifications of Kābul were not dismantled. In August Kābul was evacuated by our troops. The Amīr's first task was to extir-

pate the partisans of Sher 'Alī and such of the Sardārs as had been friendly to the British. In this year also he married the Bibī Halimah, his chief Queen, and the mother of Mahomed 'Umar. At the time of his accession Kandahār was ruled by Wāli Sher 'Alī, under British control, while Herāt was held by Ayyūb Khān. Ishāk Khān was governor of Balkh, and Abdullāh Khān of Badakshān. Maimena still persisted in refusing to acknowledge 'Abd ur Rahmān. In April, 1881 (1299), Kandahār was made over to the Amīr, as Wāli Sher 'Alī was found to be too weak for his position. The latter was accordingly given an asylum in India. In July of the same year Ayyūb Khān advanced from Herāt, and defeating 'Abd ur Rahmān's governor, Hāshim Khān, near Girishk, occupied Kandahār. 'Abd ur Rahmān's position was then one of extreme peril, as the Ghilzais were ripe for revolt and the Kohistānis disaffected. He showed himself equal to the occasion, however, and marching rapidly on Kandahār, defeated Ayyūb Khān there in September, 1881 (1299), and forced him to seek refuge in Persia. Meanwhile, in August, Herāt had fallen to Abdul Kudus, a protégé of Ishāk Khān, who was appointed governor. Maimena, which was held by Dilāwar Khān for Ayyūb Khān, did not fall till 1884 (1302), and then only by bribery. The Amīr next turned his attention to Shignān and Roshān, across the Upper Oxus (Panja), which were under the rule of Mīr Shāh Yūsuf 'Alī, though claimed by Russia as an appanage of Khokand. Yūsuf 'Alī was deposed, and Gulzār Khān appointed governor in his place. The deposition of the Wakhān chief, 'Alī Mardān Shāh, quickly followed, Ghafār Khān being put in his place. The turning back of the Russian survey expedition from the east bank of the Panja by Gulzār Khān,

led to protracted negotiations with Russia. The latter demanded the withdrawal of the Afghān troops from Roshān and Shignān, whieh 'Abd ur Rahmān claimed as part of Badakhshān. In 1892 (1310) took placee the collision between Colonel Yanoff and Shamsuddin at Somatāsh. This long-pending dispute was not finally settled till 1895 (1313), when it was agreed that the cis-Oxus distriet of Darwāz should be ceded to Afghānistān, and Roshān with Shignān to Russia. In 1887 (1305) the demareation of the Russo-Afghān frontier, between the Oxus and the Herirūd, was brought to completion. Commenced in 1884 (1302), these negotiations took a long time to come to a successful issue, and strained our relations with Russia almost to the breaking point. In the spring of 1885 (1303), while diplomatists were wrangling over the terms of the demarcation in London and Petersburg, Russian and Afghan armed parties were facing each other across the Khushk River. Ghausuddin, the Afghān general, having crossed the river in spite of a strongly worded remonstrance from the Russians, a fight ensued at Panjdeh, in whieh the Afghāns, who were miserably armed, were badly beaten. The Amīr, who was at the time in Rawulpindi, fortunately did not lay much stress on the incident, but only insisted that the boundary should follow a line drawn to the north of Zulfikār. The acute phase being thus happily passed, the preliminary boundary negotiations were brought to a close on the basis of the exchange of Panjdeh for Zulfikār, whieh the Amīr accepted. The demarcation, completed by Colonels Ridgeway and Kuhlberg in 1887, in spite of the sinister warnings of Russophobes, has successfully stood the test of time. The zeal of frontier officers occasionally threatened the peace, but not seriously. In 1892 (1310) the Russian command-

ant at Panjdeh advanced to Kila' Nau, but his enterprise was disavowed by the Russian Government. Again, in 1893 (1311), a dispute arose between the Afghāns and the Sārik Turkomans, about the irrigation of the Chaman i Bed, but was composed without difficulty by a joint commission under Colonel Yate and a Russian officer.

In 1885 (1303) the Amīr met the Viceroys, Lord Dufferin, at Rawulpindi, and on this occasion a direct promise was given him of assistance against Russia in case of attack. Shortly after his return to Kābul, he read out a state paper to his Sardārs, assembled in Durbār, in which he strongly deprecated a Russian alliance, which he described as fraught with disaster to his people. In the early years of his reign, 'Abd ur Rahmān's position was by no means a bed of roses. Risings occurred in various parts of the kingdom, some of which seriously menaced his throne, but all were ultimately repressed. In 1881 (1299) a revolt took place in Kohistān and Wardak, and later in Kunar. In 1883 (1301) occurred the rebellion of the Shinwāris, who rose at Ayyūb Khān's instigation, but were put down by Gholām Hyder, Orakzai. In the end of the same year the Mangals of Kuram were up, but they too were crushed into submission in the spring of 1884 (1302). In 1887 (1305) another Shinwāri insurrection took place, and it was not finally suppressed till 1889 (1307). The Ghilzai tribes gave the Amīr a great deal of trouble from the first. In 1881 (1299) Sher Jān, who pretended to be Sher 'Alī, raised the standard of revolt in Ghazni, and, shortly after, Asmatullah Khān, another Ghilzai chief, intrigued with Ayyūb Khān in Kandahār. In 1886 (1304) Mullah Abdul Karīm, the son of the celebrated warrior priest, Mushki 'Alam, raised a formidable revolt, the result of

the withdrawal of certain money grants to the Mullah's family, coupled with a demand for arrears of revenue from the Ghilzais generally. In 1887 (1305) Shāh Khān, Hotak, who aimed at nothing short of a crown, joined the rebels and defeated Sikander, the father of General Gholām Hyder. The latter, however, restored the Amīr's fortunes by his vigorous action, and succeeded in defeating both the Hotaks and Tarakhis, in turn, after which the rebellion collapsed. In the same year Ayyūb Khān made his last attempt to invade Afghānistān and failed. In 1888 (1306) took place Ishāk Khān's rebellion, which was the most formidable menace to 'Abd ur Rahmān's throne that had yet occurred. It has been suggested that this revolt was purposely provoked by the Amīr in order to bring the province of Afghān Turkestān more immediately under his control. However this may be, 'Abd ur Rahmān took vigorous measures to repress it, and ordered Gholām Hyder, his commander-in-chief, and Abdullāh Khān, the governor of Badakshān, to advance on Tashkurgān from two sides. The battle which ensued at Ghaznichak, resulted in 'Abd ur Rahmān's favour, though victory was a long time doubtful, and if Ishāk Khān had only followed up his first success he might have reversed the fortunes of the day. Abdullāh Khān's wing was rolled up and fell back in confusion, but Gholām Hyder held his own, and, attacking the main body of the enemy, put them to rout. Ishāk Khān's artillery, baggage, and camp were all captured. He himself fled across the Oxus, and sought a refuge in Russian territory. The Amīr then proceeded on a tour through Turkestān to reorganize the local administration, leaving his eldest son, Habibullāh, in charge at Kābul. In December, 1888 (1307), during a review at Mazār i Sherīf, 'Abd ur Rahmān narrowly

escaped assassination. He did not return to Kābul till the middle of 1890 (1308), and so ruthless had been his measures to root out his enemies that, at last, the Indian Government was forced to warn him to refrain. In 1889 (1307) there was an insurrection in Badakshān that was easily quelled. In 1890 (1308) the Hazāras broke into rebellion, and fighting continued in a desultory manner and with varying success till 1893 (1311), when peace was restored. This was in great part due to the Amīr's policy of conciliation, which he may have adopted in view of the approaching visit of the Durand Mission. During the years 1891-92 (1309-10) the Amīr's aggressive policy brought us perilously near a war with Afghānistān on more than one occasion. In 1891 (1309) his attention was turned to Asmar, which was captured by Gholūm Hyder after the murder of the chief, Shāh Tahmasp. The Amīr had then to be warned to abstain from extending his authority towards Bajaur. In 1892 (1310) occurred Sher Afzal's *coup de main* in Chitrāl, which was due to the Amīr's encouragement, as doubtless was his second and more recent attempt. In the same year 'Abd ur Rahmān made a determined attempt to bring the frontier tribes under his control by occupying Gustoi, Chageh, Wāno, and Wazīristān. Remonstrances having proved ineffectual, a military demonstration in force had to be made before he desisted from interfering within the British sphere of influence. It was above all things desirable, under these circumstances, to arrange the visit of an English envoy to Kābul to discuss the points in dispute, and come to an amicable settlement on them. The previous efforts in this direction in 1888 (1306), and again in 1892 (1310), had failed, but recent events rendered such a meeting at this juncture especially necessary.

sary. Our occupation of New Chaman and the detention of his battery of Hotchkiss guns at Karāchi had intensified the Amīr's angry feelings, while we had to complain of the harbouring of deserters from our regiments in Quetta and the raid on the Afghān settlers in Chageh. At last, in 1893 (1311), the Amīr agreed to receive a mission in Kābul, and Sir M. Durand was selected for the post. The result was eminently satisfactory. 'Abd ur Rahmān agreed to abstain from interfering in Swat, Bajaur, Chitrāl, and the Afridi country, and at the same time abandoned his claim to Chageh, New Chaman, the Tochi Valley, Wāno, and Waziristān. He was also reconciled to giving up Roshān and Shignān to Russia. We, on the other hand, covenanted to increase the Amīr's annual subsidy to 18 lakhs of rupees, and allowed him to retain Asmar and Birmal, and to exercise control over Kāfiristān. Demarcation operations were commenced in 1894 (1312), and by May, 1896 (1314), the whole of the Indo-Afghān frontier had been mapped out, with the exception of the small portion between the Khyber and Asmar, regarding which no settlement has been arrived at yet. A martyr to gout, the Amīr nearly succumbed to the disease in 1894 (1312), but recovered through Dr. Lilius Hamilton's devoted attention and skill. He has paid great attention to the organization and arming of his troops, and favours Sher 'Ali's system of a standing army on the European model, which is now said to number 60,000 men, with 182 guns. He has largely availed himself of English employés, and has established factories for guns, small arms, ammunition, soap, candles, leather, &c., and also a mint, of a modern type, for coining money. Mr. Wheeler gives the following apt summing up of 'Abd ur Rahmān's character:—"A soldier in his youth, he proved himself a capable administrator in his later years. He rules with a

rod of iron; but, during his fifteen years of reign he has succeeded in all his undertakings, kept faith with his friends, and crushed his enemies."

COINAGE.

(a) GENERAL REMARKS.

In reviewing the numismatic history of the Bārakzai dynasty, five circumstances attract the collector's attention. These are, the absence of artistic merit in the coins, the scarcity of gold and copper coinage, the number of anonymous issues, the marked reduction in the standard of all three metals, and, lastly, the comparative variety of the types. Under the Durrāni dynasty, the issue of silver and copper coins was plentiful, while that of gold was fairly so. The Durrāni standard, too, closely approximated that of the Moghal dynasty, and, during the reigns of at least the earlier kings, considerable care seems to have been taken in minting the coins. None of the princes of this line, moreover, appears to have struck anonymous coins, while their types were largely uniform. All this was changed when Dost Mahommed came into power. The coins are now found to be badly struck, and in many cases so much clipt that it is a matter of great difficulty to decipher the inscriptions. The standard was at the same time reduced, as will be noticed hereafter under the section Weights and Standards. It is uncertain whether the Bārakzai Amirs ever struck copper coins, if we except the recent issue of 'Abd ur Rahmān. If this be really the case, it must be attributed to the abundance of copper coinage under the Durrāni Kings, which rendered a further issue unnecessary. The copper issues of the Alkāi Peshāwar mint, of which I have some specimens dated 1264-5-7, must

have been circulated under the Sikh domination. These coins have the mint name on one side, and a flower, flanked by two swords, on the other. I may mention in this connection, however, that I have seen copper coins which are ascribed to this dynasty. For example, one in my possession is said to have been struck by the Amir Sher 'Ali, but there is nothing to show that this is the case, and so I prefer to leave the matter open. This coin, which bears no date (70, wt. 109 grs.) has a flower, or leaf, on the obverse, and the word "Fulūs" on the reverse. Gold coins were very rare—I have only met with one gold coin of Dost Mahommed and a few of Sher 'Ali. The scarcity of gold coins, indeed, might lead one to suppose that they were only struck on particular occasions, like the Nazarāna issues of the Moghals. A large number of Bārakzai coins were issued anonymously, that is, not in the name of the actual striker, but in that of an impersonal sovereign, who was styled Sāhib i Zamān, "Lord of the Age," or Sāhib i Mulk, "Lord of the Land." Sometimes these anonymous coins bore no names at all. Princes like Kohūndil Khān, Sultān Mahommed, or even Dost Mahommed, before he openly assumed kingly rank, who could not put forward a strong title to independent sovereignty, generally preferred to issue their coins anonymously. It is, of course, difficult sometimes to trace such coins to the striker, but the date, mint, and title, supplemented by historical data, generally supply the necessary clue. The variety of types, especially during the reigns of Dost Mahommed and Sher 'Ali, is another feature of Bārakzai coins, which present a marked contrast in this respect to the coinage of the Durrāni kings. In one particular the Bārakzai Amīrs resembled their predecessors, the Durrānis. This was their partiality for placing rhyming couplets on their coins. The obverso legend was often versified in bombastic

doggerel, as in the case of the coins of Dost Mahommed, Sultān Mahommed, Sher 'Ali, and Wāli Sher 'Ali. The deciphering of these couplets affords one of the most difficult problems to the student of the Bārakzai coinage, and is only rendered possible by piecing together different portions of the couplet from several specimens. Another puzzle in the numismatics of this period arises from the fact that various princes, of not only the same dynasty, but even of two opposing dynasties, reigned, and struck coins, simultaneously in Afḡhānistān. Nay, more, the sovereign of one dynasty sometimes issued coins in the name of a deceased, or deposed, king of another. Contemporary history, however, often explains what would be a hopeless jumble, had the coins been our only guide.

The following is a list of the Bārakzai Amīrs, with the duration of their reigns, and the extent of their dominions.

No.	Name.	Period of Power.	Extent of Kingdom.	Title.
I.	Dost Mahommed (1st reign)	1239 to 1255	Kābul & Kandahār	Sultān i Zamān Sāhib i Zamān Amīr
II.	Sultān Mahommed Kohāndil Khān (1st reign)	1247 to 1249	Pesbāwar	Sultān i Zamān
III.	Kohāndil Khān (1st reign)	1256 to 1267	Kandahār	Sāhib i Mulk
	Dost Mahommed (2nd reign)	1258 to 1280	Kābul, Kandahār, Herāt, & Turkestān	Amīr
	Kohāndil Khān (2nd reign)	1273 to 1278	Kandahār	Sultān i Jehān
IV.	Sher 'Ali (1st reign)	1280 to 1283	Kābul & Kandahār	Amīr
V.	Mahommed Afzal	1283	Kābul & Turkestān	Amīr
VI.	Mahommed A'zam	1283-84	Kābul, Kandahār, & Turkestān	Amīr
	Sher 'Ali (2nd reign)	1285 to 1296	Kābul, Kandahār, Herāt, & Turkestān	Amīr
VII.	Yakūb Khān	1296-97	Kābul, Kandahār, Herāt, & Turkestān	Amīr
VIII.	Wāli Sher 'Ali	1297	Kandahār	Wāli
IX.	Wāli Mahommed	1297	Kābul	Sāhib i Zamān
X.	'Abd ur Rahmān (regnant)	1298	Kābul, Kandahār, Herāt, & Turkestān	Amīr
XI.	Mahommed Ishāk	1306	Turkestān	Amīr

I am much indebted to Mr. C. J. Rodgers, Hon. Numismatist to the Indian Government, for assistance rendered in deciphering the couplets and looking over the proofs of this paper. To Mr. W. Theobald, also, my thanks are due for placing his collection at my disposal for the purposes of this paper. All the coins referred to in the catalogue, unless otherwise specified, are from my own cabinet.

(b) DESCRIPTION.

The first Bārakzai Amir struck seven different classes of coins, as follows :—

- (1) In the name of his former Suzerain, Mahmūd Shāh (1239).
- (2) Anonymous coins with the titles, "Sultān i Zamān" and "Sāhib i Zamān" (1239-48).
- (3) In the name of his deceased father, Pāyindah Khān (1245-48).
- (4) Anonymous coins with the Kalimah (1249-58).
- (5) Crescentade coins in his own name (1250-69).
- (6) In the name of the deceased Durrāni king, Shah Shujā' (1259).
- (7) In his own name, in memory of his son, Akbar Khān (1265-78).

The above dates are taken from coins that have come under my own notice, so that the periods given can at best only be regarded as approximately correct. Dost Mahommed had two periods of power, one from 1239 to 1255, and the other from 1258 to 1280. In his first reign coins of classes 1, 2, and 3 were issued; in his second, those of classes 6 and 7. Coins of classes 4 and 5 were minted during both reigns. It will be observed that a considerable proportion of this Amir's coins were struck either anonymously, or in the name of another person. It is also worthy of note that in the case of

classes 3 and 6 the supposed striker of the coins was no longer alive, while in that of class 1 the nominal issuer's authority did not extend beyond Herāt. On the commencement of both his reigns, Dost Mahommed issued coins in the name of a deposed or deceased monarch of the dynasty he had overthrown, his object doubtless being to cloak his accession to supreme power under the aegis of a well-established name, until such time as his throne was secure.

I have one coin issued by the Dost in the name of Mahmūd Shāh, whose dominions were at that time confined to the province of Herāt. It is dated 1239, with the addition of the phrase "San i ahd," or first year, which can only refer to Dost Mahommed's reign, and not to that of Mahmūd Shāh. For lack of numismatic data I cannot say for how long a period this class of coinage continued to be minted. On his second accession to power Dost Mahommed issued coins in the name of Shāh Shujā', though this king had been dead a year. A Kābul coin in Mr. Theobald's cabinet, which belongs to this class, is dated 1259, with the curious addition "fifth year," though we know that Shāh Shujā's third reign began in 1255, and ended at his death in 1258. Of the anonymous issues, the coins struck in the name of "Sultān i Zamān" and "Sāhib i Zamān" were minted early in the Dost's reign, and limited, as far as I know, to the Kābul mint. Anonymous coins of the Kalimah type were later, and issued from both the Kābul and Kandahār mints. They were issued concurrently with coins of class 5, though the latter seem only to have been struck at Kābul.

Sultān Mahommed struck coins at Peshāwar in the name of "Sultān i Zamān," a title which contained a play on his own name. His coins were issued during the years

1247-49, as far as my observation goes. In Mr. Dames' list of Durrāni coins, a Peshāwar issue of Ayyūb Shāh, dated 1248, is given, but I am sceptical as to the accuracy of this date. I do not think any coins were issued in that sovereign's name later than 1246.

Kohāndil Khān was supreme in Kandahār from 1256 to 1267, and again from 1273 to 1278. In the first he styled himself "Sāhib i Mulk"—"Lord of the Land," and in the second "Sultān i Jehān"—"Sovereign of the World." It will be noted that during both his periods of power Kohāndil Khān's issues were anonymous.

There is nothing of interest to remark in regard to *Mahomed Afzal*'s scanty coinage, which was issued in Kābul.

Mahomed A'zam's first coinage was issued in Kandahār; his second at Kābul.

Sher 'Alī's first reign lasted from 1280 to 1283, and his second from 1285 to 1296. In the first, coins were issued from the Kandahār mint; in the second, from that of Herāt. During both periods the Kābul mint was active. *Sher 'Alī*'s silver coinage is divisible into six classes, viz. :—

- (1) Coins with the couplet *زَعَمَ مِرْكَمَة*. (Kābul.)
- (2) Coins with the couplet *زِبَطَفَاتِ*. (Kābul.)
- (3) Coins with the title "Amir of all the Amirs." (Kandahār.)
- (4) Coins with the Tughra device. (Kābul.)
- (5) Coins with the Kalimah. (Kābul.)
- (6) Coins with the simple title, "Amir Sher 'Alī" on the obverse. (Herāt.)

Y'akūb Khān's issue is only remarkable for its scantiness and clumsiness of execution. His coins were struck at all three mints, Kābul, Kandahār, and Herāt.

Wāli Sher 'Ali, the British nominee at Kandahār, only reigned a few months. His coins, minted at Kandahār, are consequently rare.

Wāli Mahomed gave currency to an anonymous issue of coins in the name of Sāhib i Zamān, or "Lord of the Age," during the British occupation of Kābul in the second Afghān war. These coins were issued only from the Kābul mint, and are fairly plentiful. I am at a loss to understand the numeral four on their reverso side. It may be nothing but an ornamental device, as is the case with the coins of some of the native states of the Punjāb.

'Abd ur Rahmān, the reigning Amīr, has issued two classes of coins, one on the ancient model, and the other of a modern type. The first contained the simple title Amīr 'Abd ur Rahmān on the obverse, while the second, minted with modern machinery, has a representation on the reverse of a castle, or Durbār hall, with the Tughra device on the obverse. On one early coin of the Kandahār mint the Sikh leaf-mark is apparent. I see it noted in the papers that the Amīr has quite recently issued a third variety of coinage in gold with his portrait, and the title "Light of the World," but I have not yet had an opportunity of examining any specimens of this class.

Mahomed Ishāk, though he never even approached Kābul, struck coins as if issued from that mint. The inscription on the obverse of this pretender's coins is remarkable for its length and bombastic style. It concludes with the invocation, found on the coins of the Sūri dynasty, "May God preservō his country."

It will be observed that only Dost Mahomed and Sher 'Ali placed the Kalimah on their coins. The Tughra device was used by Sher 'Ali and 'Abd ur Rahmān. The

Sikh leaf-mark is found on one coin of Dost Mahommed of the Kābul mint, and on another of 'Abd ur Rahmān of the Kandahār mint.

(c) MINTS.

The only Bārakzai mints are Kābul, Kandahār, Herāt, and Peshāwar. Peshāwar is the only mint represented on the anonymous issue of Sultān Mahommed. A single rupee of Dost Mahommed, struck in the name of his son, Akbar Khān, and without a date, bears the curious mint name "*Alkāi Peshāwar*," or "District of Peshāwar," which is also found on certain Sikh issues of the Peshāwar mint previously referred to. This coin would seem to have been struck during Dost Mahommed's second reign, as it was in that period that all his "Khālik i Akbar" coins were issued. The Sikhs, however, were at that time in possession of Peshāwar. I can only conjecture that by "Alkai" is implied the hilly district near Peshāwar, including the Jelālābād Valley, which, we know, belonged to the Bārakzai Amīrs. Kābul, as the capital, was the most general mint town of the Bārakzais, and all but local rulers struck coins there. Mahommed Afzal and Wali Mahommed, apparently, coined money nowhere else. Kandahār was the sole mint town of Kohāndil Khān and Wāli Sher 'Alī; but Dost Mahommed, Sher 'Alī, Mahommed Ā'zam, Y'akūb Khān, and 'Abd ur Rahmān also struck coins there. Herāt does not appear as a Bārakzai mint until Sher 'Alī's second reign, but subsequently Y'akūb Khān and 'Abd ur Rahmān issued money there. The usual formula, "Dār us Saltanat," or "The Abode of Sovereignty," is generally prefixed to the mint names. Kandahār is often styled Ahmedshāhi, after the first Durrāni king.

(d) TITLES.

The Bārakzai chiefs did not offend to any great extent in the use of high-sounding titles. Dost Mahommed styled himself "Sultān i Zamān," and "Sāhib i Zamān," or "Lord of the Age," in his earlier issues, and subsequently, simply "Amīr." On a single gold coin of Kābul, struck in his second reign, he adds the title "Ghāzi," which may refer to his early victories over the infidel Sikhs. On his later Kandahār issues he is described as "Amīr of all the Amīrs." Sultān Mahommed is styled "Sultān i Zamān," and Wali Mahommed "Sāhib i Zamān"; while Kohāndil's titles are "Sāhib i Mulk" on his earlier issues, and "Sultān i Jehān" on his later ones, a designation which is equally applicable to a divine or human over-lord. Mahommed Afzal, Sher 'Alī, and 'Abd ur Rahmān contented themselves with the simple title of "Amīr." To this Mahommed Ā'zam added, on some of his coins struck in Kandahār, the phrase, "Amīr of all the Amīrs." On one of his coins of the Tughra type, Sher 'Alī qualifies the name with the term "Afghān." On the Herāt coins of Y'akūb Khān, and those of the Pretender, Mahommed Ishāk, we find the title, "The Amīr, son of the Amīr," indicating the royal rank of the striker's father. The latter, on his coins, adds the designation "Ghāzi." Wāli Sher 'Alī describes himself as the Wāli, or Governor, of Kandahār.

(e) WEIGHTS AND STANDARDS.

The following statement of the weights and values of Bārakzai coins was arrived at by a careful scrutiny of the specimens that have come under my observation:—

GOLD.

Dost Mahomed's "Tilla"	= 69 grains
Sher 'Ali's	= 52 "

SILVER.

Rupee	Average weight, 140½ grains
Half Rupee of Kābul and Herāt.	70 "
Half Rupee of Kandahār	85½ "

COPPER.

Paisa of 'Abd ur Rahmān	= 68½ grains
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The gold standard is very erratic, and the amount of this coinage is so scanty that it is difficult to form any satisfactory conclusions on the subject. It differed widely from the Durrāni standard, which closely followed the Moghal model. Dost Mahomed's "Tilla" most nearly approaches the Persian gold Abbāsi of 72 grains, while Sher 'Ali's approximates the Persian Ashrafi of 54 grains. The Durrāni silver standard was the rupee of 170 grains, but the equivalent Bārakzai coin only averages a little over 140 grains. The Peshāwar coin of Dost Mahomed must be excluded from this category, as it weighs 170 grains, and thus conforms to the Durrāni standard. For this strange numismatic freak I am unable to account. Mr. Dames, in his paper on Durrāni coins, suggests that the depreciated Bārakzai rupee may be traced to the Persian 5 shāhi piece, the weight of which fluctuated a good deal, but averaged 139 grains under some of the Safavi kings. It is an interesting fact, noted in the same brochure, that Shāh Shujā's rupees, struck during his brief third reign at Kābul, followed the depreciated Bārakzai standard. I may add that this standard is still largely in use all over the North-West Frontier of India,

not only in the independent Hill States, but even in the British frontier districts. All monetary transactions between the people themselves are based on this standard, and it will be a long time before the British standard takes its place. Of the half rupees there are two varieties, one averaging 85½, and the other 70 grains. The former were only struck at Kandahār, and would seem to have been modelled on the later Persian silver Abbāsi. The latter, which were issued from the Kābul and Herāt mints, have the normal weight of half the Bārakzai rupee. It is doubtful, as I have observed, if any copper coins were struck by the Bārakzai sovereigns, until the recent issue by the Amīr 'Abd ur Rahmān, which averages 68½ grains in weight. This standard bears no relation to its immediate precursors in the coinages of the Moḡhals and Durrānis, and its origin must probably be sought in the Victorian half pice of India, which closely approximates it in size and weight.

(f) COUPLETS.

Several of the Bārakzai Amīrs adopted the example of their Durrāni predecessors in putting Persian couplets on their coins. The following are literal translations of the couplets found on the coins described in the catalogue:—

DOST MAHOMMED.

(1) Oh! silver and gold, glory in the coins of the Lord of the Age.—(No. 4.)

(2) The Sun and Moon give good tidings to silver and gold, for the period of the circulation of the coins of Pāyindah Khān has arrived.—(Pl. XV. Fig. 2.)

It will be noted that Pāyindah Khān, who, of course, was never in a position to strike coins himself, died in 1214, or thirty-two years before this rupee was issued.

(3) The Amir, Dost Mahommed, girded his loins with the intention of waging a religious war, and struck coins. May God be his helper!—(Pl. XV. Fig. 4.)

This couplet commemorates the Dost's crescentade against the infidel Sikhs.

(4) By the grace of the Great Creator the Amir, Dost Mahommed, struck coins a second time in metal.—(Pl. XV. Fig. 5.)

There is a play here on the words "Khālik i Akbar," which means both the "Great Creator" and the "Creator of Akbar," the Dost's eldest son, in whose memory these coins were struck. The expression "do-bārah" = a second time, refers to the issue of coins in Dost Mahommed's second reign.

SULTĀN MAHOMMED.

(5) The money of the Kingdom of the Sovereign of the Age has engraved on its face the likeness of the sun and heavens.—(Pl. XV. Fig. 8.)

The word "Sultān" brings in the first part of the issuer's name.

SHER 'ALI.

(6) By the favour of the Eternal Creator the money of Amir Sher 'Ali has found circulation.—(Pl. XV. Fig. 15.)

(7) By the abundant kindness of the Beneficent King of Heaven, Amir Sher 'Ali coined money like the bright full moon.—(Pl. XV. Fig. 16.)

There is a play here on the word "Amīr," which is used to signify both the King of Heaven and his earthly Vicegerent.

WĀLI SHER 'ALI.

(8) By the grace of the Eternal God Sher 'Ali has become the Governor of Kandahār.—(Pl. XVI. Fig. 23.)

I have never seen coins bearing the couplets transcribed below, but have been assured by Mr. Rodgers, as well as by native authorities, that such were issued.

DOST MAHOMMED.

(1) عَرْوَجْ دَوْسَتْ مُحَمَّدْ بَهْ مُلَكْ وَجَاهْ كَشِيدْ
دَوْرِ رِوَاجْ سِكَّةْ بَائِنَدَهْ خَانْ رَبِيدْ

No sooner did Dost Mahomed reach dominion and dignity than the period of the circulation of Pāyindah Khān's coinage arrived.

This, Dost Mahomed's first issue, is said to have been in circulation for nine months.

SHER 'ALI.

(2) سِكَّهْ زَدْ دَرْ جَهَانْ چَوْ بَدَرْ جَلَّيْ
بَارِ دُوْثَمْ أَمِيرْ شِيرْ عَلَيْ

Amīr Sher 'Ali, a second time, struck coins in the world, like the bright full moon.

This doubtless refers to the issue of Sher 'Ali's second reign.

(3) شَدْ اَزْ عَنَيَاتْ وَالْطَافِ لَمْ يَزْلِيْ
رِوَاجْ سِكَّهْ بَنَامْ أَمِيرْ شِيرْ عَلَيْ

Through the graces and favours of the Eternal One, money began to be circulated in the name of the Amīr Sher 'Ali.

MAHOMMED AFZAL.

(4) دَوْنَوْجْ مَشْرُقْ وَمَغْرِبْ زَهْمْ مَفْلَلْ شُدْ
أَمِيرْ مُلَكْ خَرَاسَانْ مُحَمَّدْ اَنْخَلْ شُدْ

Two armies of the East and West joined in battle, and

separated, and so Mahommed Afzal became the Amīr of the Kingdom of Khorasān.

Khorasān refers to Afghān Turkestān. This coin must have been struck by Mahommed Afzal, as a rebel, and before he attained supreme power at Kābul.

MAHOMMED Ā'ZAM.

(5) چواز عنایت الطاب حق ملزم شد
رواج سکه بنام محمد اعظم شد

As soon as, by the grace of Heaven's favours, his rights became established, money began to circulate in Mahommed Ā'zam's name.

This was probably Mahommed Ā'zam's earliest issue.

MAHOMMED JĀN.

(6) می گنم دیوانگی تا بر سرم غوا شود
سکه بر زرمی گنم تا صاحبیش پیدا شود

I make madness till on my head a tumult falls. Coin I strike on metal, till its master is found.

This coin is said to have been struck by the rebel leader, Mahommed Jān, who gave us so much trouble during the second Afghān war before Sherpūr.

(g) CATALOGUE OF COINS.

I.
DOST MAHOMMED.

No.	Value.	Mint.	Date.	Inscription.
<i>Gold.</i>				
1	Tilla	Kābul	1269	Obv. مُحَمَّد غَازِي ۱۲۶۹ Rev. ضَرِبْ دَارُ السُّلْطَنَةِ كَابُل ۱۲۶۹
Both areas ornamented with congeries of dots, and circumscribed by two double circles with a wavy line between.				
				Pl. XV, Fig. 1, '85, 69 grs.
<i>Silver.</i>				
2	Rupee	Kābul	1239	(a) <i>In the name of Mahmūd Shāh.</i> San i ahd = first year.
				(b) <i>Anonymous, with the titles Sultān i Zamān and Sāhib i Zamān.</i>
3	Rupee	Kābul	1239	Obv. سِكَّةُ دَوْلَةِ سُلْطَانِ زَمَان ۱۲۳۹ Rev. اَحَدْ كَابُل (Mr. Rodgers.)
4	Rupee	Kābul	1240	Obv. فَخْرُ الْجَنَاحِيْنِ اَيْ سِيمِ وَزَرِ اَز سِكَّةُ صَاحِبِ زَمَان Rev. ضَرِبْ دَارُ السُّلْطَنَةِ كَابُل ۱۲۴۰ (Mr. Rodgers.)
5	Rupee	Kābul	1242	Obv. سَاحِبِ زَمَان within a double-lined quatrefoil. Margin - بَرِ سِيمِ وَزَر ۱۲۴۲ Rev. ضَرِبْ دَارُ السُّلْطَنَةِ كَابُل سَنَة ۱۲۴۲ • 85, 146½ grs.

No.	Value.	Mint.	Date.	Inscription.
6	Rupee	Kābul	1243	Similar legends. ·95, 149 grs. (Lahore Museum.) (c) <i>In the name of his deceased father, Pāyindah Khān.</i>
7	Rupee	Kābul	1245	Obv. شمس و قمر به سیم و طلا میبد هد نوید وقت رواج سکه پاینده خان رسید ضرب دار السلطنت کابل ۱۲۴۵ The obverse area within a six-foil figure, circumscribed by a double circle with a border of dots outside. Both areas ornamented with floral devices. Pl. XV, Fig. 2. ·95, 144½ grs. (Mr. Theobald.)
8	Rupee	Kābul	1246	Similar legends, similarly disposed. ·95, 142 grs.
9	Rupee	Kābul	1248	The same legends, but differently disposed. ·95. 143 grs. (d) <i>Anonymous, with the Kalimah.</i>
10	Rupee	Ahmad Shāhī [Kan- dahār]	1249	Obv. The Kalimah in three lines. Rev. أحمد شاهي ضرب 1249 in a lined circle, with one of dots outside. ·98, 140 grs. (Lahore Museum.)
11	Rupee	Ahmad Shāhī [Kan- dahār]	1252	Obv. The Kalimah within an area ornamented with floral devices. Rev. أحمد شاهي ضرب 1252 within an arabesque. ·90, 132½ grs.

No.	Value.	Mint.	Date.	Inscription.
12	Rupee	Kandahār	1254	Similar legends, similarly arranged. ·90, 138 grs. (Mr. Dames.)
13	Rupee	Kābul	1258	Obv. The Kalimah in a square ornamented with floral devices, and circumscribed by a circle with a border of dots outside. Rev. ضرب دار السلطنة کابل ۱۲۵۸ within a scolloped figure, similarly embellished. Pl. XV, Fig. 3, ·90, 144½ grs. (Mr. Theobald.) (e) Crescentade coins in his own name.
14	Rupee	Kābul	—	کمر به بست و بزد سکه بعزم جنگ و جهاد امیر دوست محمد ناصر حق باد Rev. ضرب دار السلطنة کابل Both areas ornamented with floral devices, and circumscribed by a double circle with dots between. Pl. XV, Fig. 4, ·92, 144 grs.
15	Rupee	Kābul	1250	Similar legends. ·95, 145 grs. (Lahore Museum.)
16	Rupee	Kābul	1251	Similar legends. ·95, 145 grs. (Lahore Museum.)
17	Rupee	Kābul	1252	Similar legends. ·90, 136½ grs.
18	Rupee	Kābul	1255	Similar legends. ·90, 141 grs.

No.	Value.	Mint.	Date.	Inscription.
				(f) <i>In the name of Shāh Shujā'.</i>
19	Rupee	Kābul	1259	Obv. سُلْطَان شَجَاعُ الْمُلْك شَاه سَنَه Rev. ضُرِبْ دَارُ السُّلْطَنَة كَابُل ١٢٥٩ Both areas ornamented with floral devices. ·90, 146½ grs. (Mr. Theobald.)
				(g) <i>In his own name in memory of his son Mahomed Akbar.</i>
20	Rupee	Kābul	1265	Obv. بِزَدِ رَعَيْنِ عِنَادِيَة حَالِقَيْنِ أَكْبَرِ أَمِيرِ دُوَّسْتِ مُحَمَّدِ دُوَّبَارَدِ سِكَهِ بَرَزَرِ Rev. ضُرِبْ دَارُ السُّلْطَنَة كَابُل سَنَه Floral devices on both areas. Pl. XV, Fig. 5, ·85, 145 grs. (Mr. Theobald.)
21	Rupee	Kābul	1271	Similar legends, differently disposed. The reverse area circumscribed by a circle with a border of dots outside. Floral devices and the Sikh leaf-mark on both areas. ·95, 142½ grs.
22	Rupee	Kābul	1274	Similar legends, with slight variations. Ornamentations as on the preceding coin. ·95, 136 grs. (Mr. Theobald.)

No.	Value.	Mint.	Date.	Inscription.
23	Rupee	Peshā-war	—	Obv. The same couplet as above. Rev. ضرب چلوسِ الکایی پیشاور Floral devices only on both sides. Pl. XV, Fig. 6, .90, 170 grs.
24	Half Rupee	Kan-dahār	1273	Obv. The same couplet. Rev. ضرب قندهار ۱۲۷۳ within a central cartouche. يا امير كل امير in the margin. Both areas within a double circle with dots between. ·80, 84½ grs.
25	Half Rupee	Kan-dahār	1278	Similar legends on both sides. Pl. XV, Fig. 7, ·80, 84½ grs.

II.

SULTĀN MAHOMMED.

				Silver.
26	Rupee	Peshā-war	1247	گنده چہرہ برخود وہرو عنان سکہ دولة مسلطان زمان Rev. ضرب چلوس پیشاور سنہ ۱۲۴۷
				The reverse area within a double circle with lily cups between. Both areas embellished with floral devices. ·96, 143½ grs. (Lahore Museum.)
27	Rupee	Peshā-war	1248	Similar legends, similarly placed. ·96, 142 grs.
28	Rupee	Peshā-war	1249	Similar legends. Pl. XV, Fig. 8, ·98, 141 grs.

III.
KOHĀNDIL KHĀN.

No.	Value.	Mint.	Date.	Inscription.
<i>Silver.</i>				
29	Rupee	Ahmad Shāhī [Kan-dahār]	1259	Obv. صاحب ملک در حقيقة اوسٰت. Rev. ضرب احمد شاهی ۱۲۵۹ The reverse area inside a plain circle with congregies of dots outside. Both areas ornamented with floral devices. Pl. XV, Fig. 9, .90, 137 grs.
30	Half Rupee	Ahmad Shāhī [Kan-dahār]	1261	Similar legends, similarly placed. .75, 86 grs. (Mr. Dames.)
31	Half Rupee	Ahmad Shāhī [Kan-dahār]	1270	Obv. سلطان حقيقة جهان اوسٰت. Rev. ضرب احمد شاهی ۱۲۷۰ The reverse area within a scoloped circle with a ring of dots outside. Pl. XV, Fig. 10, .80, 87½ grs.
32	Half Rupee	Ahmad Shāhī [Kan-dahār]	1272	Similar legends, but the reverse area within a plain circle. .80, 87 grs.

IV.
MAHOMMED AFZAL.

				<i>Silver.</i>
33	Rupee	Kābul	1283	Obv. امير محمد افضل ۱۲۸۳ Rev. ضرب دارالسلطنة کابل سنه ۱۲۸۳ Pl. XV, Fig. 11, .80, 141 grs.



COINAGE OF THE BĀRAKZĀIS
OF AFGHĀNISTĀN.

V.

MAHOMMED Ā'ZAM.

No.	Value.	Mint.	Date.	Inscription.
<i>Silver.</i>				
34	Rupee	Kābul	1284	أمير محمد أعظم ضرب دار السلطنة كابل Obverse area within a single circle with a lily cup border outside. Both areas embellished with floral devices. Rev. ١٢٨٤ Pl. XV, Fig. 12, 90, 140½ grs.
35	Half Rupee	Kan-dahār	1283	أمير محمد أعظم within a double circle with a scolloped border outside. ضرب قندھار يا أمیر گل أمیر within a single circle with a border of dots outside. Both areas ornamented as in last. Rev. ١٢٨٣ Pl. XV, Fig. 13, 70, 87 grs.

VI.

SHER 'ALĪ.

				<i>Gold.</i>
36	Tilla	Kābul	1295	أمير شیر علی ^۱ In centre In margin, the Kalimah. ضرب دار السلطنة كابل Both areas circumscribed by dentated circles. Rev. ١٢٩٥ Pl. XV, Fig. 14, 75, 52 grs.
37	Tilla	Kan-dahār	1283	Similar legends. (Da Cuīha.)

No.	Value.	Mint.	Date.	Inscription.
Silver.				
38	Rupee	Kābul	1280	Obv. زَيْنِ مَرْحَمَةِ كِرْدَگَارِ لَمْ يَزَلَّ بِيَافَاتِ سِكَهِ رَوَاجِ اَمِيرِ شِيرُ عَلِيٌّ Rev. ١٢٨٠ ضَرِبَ دَارُ السُّلْطَنَةِ كَابُل
Both areas embellished with floral devices.				
39	Rupee	Kābul	1281	Similar legends. Pl. XV, Fig. 15, .80, 139½ grs.
40	Half Rupee	Kan-dahār	1282	Obverse legend as above. Rev. ١٢٨٢ اَمِيرُ كُلِّ اَمِيرِ ضَرِبَ قَنْدَهَار
The reverse area within two double-lined circles with a scroll border between.				
41	Rupee	Kābul	1285	Obv. زَالِطَفَاتِ كِشِيرِ اَمِيرِ نِيكِ ١٢٨٥ اَمِيرِ شِيرُ عَلِيٌّ سِكَهِ زَدِ چَوْبَدِ مُنَبِّر Rev. ١٢٨٥ ضَرِبَ دَارُ السُّلْطَنَةِ كَابُل
Both areas embellished with floral devices.				
42	Rupee	Kābul	1285	Obv. ١٢٨٥ اَمِيرِ شِيرُ عَلِيٌّ خَانِ اَفْغَانِ With Tughra device above.

No.	Value.	Mint.	Date.	Inscription.
				يَكْ رُوبِيَه In centre In margin صَرِبْ دَارُ السُّلْطَنَةِ كَابُل سَنَه ١٢٨٥ Both areas embellished with floral ornaments, and circumscribed by double dentated circles. Pl. XVI, Fig. 18, .85, 140 $\frac{1}{2}$.
43	Rupee	Kābul	1286	Similar inscriptions, but without the word افغان. .80, 140 grs.
44	Rupee	Kābul	1293	Obv. In centre أمير شير علي In margin, the Kalimah. يَكْ رُوبِيَه In margin دَارُ السُّلْطَنَةِ كَابُل فِي سَنَه ١٢٩٣ Both areas within single dentated circles. Pl. XVI, Fig. 19, 1.0, 140 $\frac{1}{2}$ grs.
45	Rupee	Kābul	1294	Similar legends, similarly placed. .95, 141 grs.
46	Half Rupee	Kābul	1295	Similar legends, but value نِيم روبيه. Pl. XVI, Fig. 20, .80, 70 grs.
47	Half Rupee	Herāt	1295	Obv. أمير شير علي ١٢٩٥ Rev. صَرِبْ دَارُ السُّلْطَنَةِ هَرَات Both areas within double-lined circles with dots between. Pl. XVI, Fig. 21, .65, 70 grs.

No.	Value.	Mint.	Date.	Inscription.
48	Half Rupee	Herāt	1295	Similar legends, but that on obverso differently disposed. A scolloped border between the circles on both areas. •70, 70 grs.

VII.

Y'AKŪB KHĀN.

				<i>Silver.</i>
49	Rupee	Kābul	1296	Obv. ^{١٢٩٦} أمير محمد يعقوب خان Rev. ^{١٢٩٦} ضرب دار السلطنة كابل
				Both areas embellished with floral devices and enclosed within double circles, the inside one plain, the outside with a dentated border. Pl. XVI, Fig. 22, '81, 189 grs.
50	Half Rupee	Kan-dahār	—	Obv. ^{١٢٩٦} أمير محمد يعقوب خان Rev. ^{١٢٩٦} ضرب قندھار
				Both areas within plain circles, and ornamented with congregies of dots. •80, 85½ grs.
51	Half Rupee	Herāt	1297	Obv. ^{١٢٩٧} يعقوب خان الامير ابن امير ابن امير Rev. ^{١٢٩٧} ضرب دار السلطنة هرات
				Both areas enclosed in two double-lined circles with dots between. Pl. XVI, Fig. 23, '70, 70 grs.



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COINAGE OF THE BĀRAKZĀIS
OF AFGHĀNISTĀN.



VIII.
WĀLI SHER 'ALĪ.

No.	Value.	Mint.	Date.	Inscription.
<i>Silver.</i>				
52	Rupee	Kan-dahār	1297	Obv. شُدْ زِ فَخِيلْ خَدَائِي لَمْ يَزَلَّ Rev. وَالِي قَنْدَهَارْ شَيرْ عَلَيْ ۖ ۱۲۹۷
				The obverse area within a plain circle. The reverse area within a double circle with scroll work between. Pl. XVI, Fig. 24, ·82, 137 grs.

IX.
WALI MAHOMMED.

				<i>Silver.</i>
53	Rupee	Kābul	1297	Obv. يَا صَاحِبِ زَمَانِ ۱۲۹۷ Rev. ضَرِبَ دَارُ السُّلْطَنَةِ كَابُل
				Marks on the obv. area = ♂ S ♀ Marks on the rev. area = F. Pl. XVI, Fig. 25, ·85, 138½ grs.

X.
'ABD UR RAHMĀN.

				<i>Silver.</i>
54	Rupee	Kābul	1298	Obv. أَمِيرُ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَانِ ۱۲۹۸ Rev. ضَرِبَ دَارُ السُّلْطَنَةِ كَابُل ۱۲۹۸

No	Value.	Mint.	Date.	Inscription.
				Both areas embellished with floral devices; the obverse enclosed in a single plain circle, the reverse in two circles, the first double-lined, the second dentated. Pl. XVI, Fig. 26, '85, 137 grs.
55	Rupee	Kābul	1300	Similar legends, similarly disposed. '85, 140½ grs.
56	Rupee	Kābul	1305	Similar legends, but both areas enclosed in single dentated circles. Pl. XVI, Fig. 27, '85, 141 grs.
57	Rupee	Kābul	1308	Obv. أَمِيرُ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَانِ below a Tughra device, the whole enclosed within an open wreath with a star above. Rev. كَابُل ۱۳۰۸ below the representation of a Durbār Hall with a flag at each end. Wreath and star as on the obverse. Dotted rim and straight milling. Pl. XVI, Fig. 28, '92, 140½ grs.
58	Rupee	Kan-dahār	1306	Obv. أَمِيرُ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَانِ Rev. صَرِيفٌ دَارُ السُّلْطَنَةِ قَنْدَهَارٌ Pl. XVI, Fig. 29, '80, 140 grs.

No.	Value.	Mint.	Date.	Inscription.
59	Rupee	Kan-dahār	—	Similar legends, differently disposed. Double leaf mark on the obverse. •85. 141 grs.
60	Rupee	Herāt	1301	Obv. امیر عبد الرحمن Rev. ضرب دار السلطنة هرات Both areas ornamented with floral devices, and enclosed within dentated circles. Pl. XVI, Fig. 30, •90, 140½ grs.
61	Half Rupee	Herāt	1303	Similar legends, but differently disposed. Both areas within double-lined circles with a ring of dots outside. •71, 70 grs.
62	Half Rupee	Herāt	1306	Similar legends, disposed as in the last. Pl. XVI, Fig. 31, •65, 68½ grs.
63	Paisa	Kābul	1309	Copper. Obv. يك پيسيه 1309 below the representation of a Durbār Hall with a flag at each end; the whole within an open wreath. Rev. ضرب دار السلطنة کابل inscribed within a close flower wreath. Dotted rim and plain edge. Pl. XVI, Fig. 32, •82, 68½ grs.

XI.
MAHOMMED ISHĀK.

No.	Value.	Mint.	Date.	Inscription.
64	Rupee	Kūbul	1306	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Silver.</i></p> <p>محمد ایحیا امیر غازی خَلَدَ اللَّهُ مُلْكَهُ الْامِيرِ ابْنِ الْامِيرِ ١٣٠٦</p> <p>صریب دارالسلطنة کابل</p> <p>Both areas ornamented with congeries of dots, and enclosed within double-lined circles with dots between.</p> <p>Pl. XVI, Fig. 33, .90, 132½ grs.</p>
65	Rupee	Kūbul	1306	<p>Similar inscriptions, but different portions of the obverse legend visible.</p> <p>Pl. XVI, Fig. 34, .85, 136½ grs.</p>

L. WHITE KING.

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

The *Revue Numismatique*, Part I., 1896, contains the following articles:—

1. E. BABELON. *The Elephant of Hannibal*. The writer connects the African elephant on the well-known Etruscan bronze coins (*B.M. Cat., Italy*, p. 15), which are usually found in the neighbourhood of Lake Trasimenus, with the great victory of Hannibal over the Romans at Trebia, B.C. 217. All Hannibal's elephants had perished from cold except one on which he himself was mounted. The Negro's head on the obverses of these coins probably represents the driver.

2. J. A. BLANCHET. On the functions of the *Tresviri Monetales* under the Roman Republic. The formula III. VIRI. A. A. A. F. F. (*Tresviri aere, argento, auro, flando, feriundo*) has been sometimes cited to prove that this magistracy cannot have been created before the introduction of gold money, but M. Blanchet justly argues that bars and ingots of gold and silver formed, from very early times, the chief reserve fund of the treasury, and that perhaps the chief duty of the Tresviri monetales was to superintend the operation of casting the metal for the quality of which they were responsible. The presence of the second F, for *feriundo*, only proves that the formula (in its entirety) is not anterior to the introduction of the process of striking (*circ. B.C. 268*).

3. A. RAUGÉ VAN GENNEP. Notes on the Coinage of Amadeus IX, Duke of Savoy, A.D. 1465—1472.

4. CH. ROBERT. On the Jetons of the States of Brittany.

5. H. DE LA TOUR. Modern Medals recently acquired by the Cabinet of France.

Part II., 1896, contains the following articles:—

1. E. BABELON. The Tyrant Saturninus. The unique aureus of this usurper, who assumed the purple at Alexandria in A.D. 280, formed part of a small hoard, mainly consisting of aurei of Probus, lately found in Lower Egypt. It is important historically as confirming to some extent the statements of

Vopiscus and other writers, which have been rejected by Mommsen as of doubtful value.

2. R. MOWAT. Unpublished or little-known coins of Carausius. Among these the most important is one reading IMP. C. M. AV. M. CARAVSIVS. P. F. AVG., which for the first time (on coins) gives all his names and titles in order; namely, Imp(erator) C(aesar) M(arens) An(velins) M(ansaius) Ca-rausius P(ius) F(elix) Aug(ustus).

3. E. DROUIN. On coins of the later Great Knshans.

4. R. VALLENTIN. On the florins of Aymar VI, Count of Valentinois and Diois, 1345—1374.

5. J. B. GIRAUD. On the mintage of base money at Ville-nenve-dn-Plat (Lyons), 1681.

6. CH. ROBERT. On the Jetons of the States of Brittany (continuation).

7. P. CASANOVA. On the coins of the dynasty of the Dānishmandids (continuation).

8. J. A. BLANCHET. Two unpublished bronze pieces of Tetricus and of his son, probably intended as patterns for gold coins. The writer also discusses Sir John Evans's recent suggestion, that many of the later medallions, especially those with the reverse *Tres Monetae*, were struck to serve as models for provincial mints. M. Blanchet (p. 234) seems, however, to be under a mistaken impression in supposing that Sir John Evans would apply this theory as a general rule to all medallions, and he proceeds to point out that such an explanation cannot be accepted.

Part III., 1896, contains the following articles:—

1. J. ROUVIER. On a forgotten Phœnician metropolis. The rare Seleucid bronze coins with the Phœnician legend לְאָדָּכָּן בְּכָכְעָן, Laodicea, metropolis of Canaan, usually assigned to Laodicea ad Libanum, are attributed by M. Rouvier, on good grounds, to Berytus, under the temporary name of Laodicea, or to some other port in its immediate neighbourhood.

2. M. PROU. Documents relating to the monetary history of the Counts of Nevers.

3. P. CASANOVA. On the coins of the Dānishmandids (continuation).

4. J. ROUVIER. On a jeton of Pierre Hénin, *Érèque des Innocents* of the Abbey of St. Martin aux Jumeaux at Amiens.

5. J. ROMAN. On a medal of Jacques Charlet, Seigneur d'Esbly (ob. 1666).

6. CH. ROBERT. On the jetons of the States of Brittany (continuation).

7. P. BORDEAUX. Coins struck by Francis I as Count of Provence.

The *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. XX., Heft II., contains the following articles:—

1. J. FRIEDENSBURG. A dueat of Bishop John V, Turzo, of Breslau.

2. E. J. SELTMANN. On an unpublished coin of Antonia and Julia, daughter of Augustus. *Obr.* [ANT]ΩΝΙΑ ΓΥΝΗ. *Rev.* ΘΥΓΑΤΡΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ, in field ΛΕ. The author would assign it either to Palestine, Syria, or Western Asia Minor.

3. H. DANNENBERG. Coin-finds in Pomerania and Mecklenburg.

4. H. VON FRITZE. On Athenian coin-types of the sixth century B.C. A minute study of the stylistic treatment of the earliest Athenian coins as compared with that of the coins of Corinth, &c. The writer is of opinion that the earliest Athenian coins are the electrum hectae of the owl type (*B. M. Cat., Attica*, Pl. I. 1), and Euboic didrachms. *Obr.* Owl. *Rev.* Incuse square diagonally divided. (*B. M. Cat., Cent. Greece*, Pl. XXIV. 18.) These he gives to Solon's time. To Pisis-tratus, 560—527, he assigns the tetradrachms of the early style, without the olive-leaves on the helmet of the goddess. With regard to the date of the beginning of the series with the olive-leaves on the helmet, he apparently accepts the classification adopted in the *B. M. Cat., Attica*.

5. J. CAHN. On the monetary rights of German kings.

6. H. GAEBLER. On the coinage of Macedon. This is an article of considerable importance for the chronological classification of the smaller silver and bronze coins inscribed **MAKE** or **ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝΩΝ**. From a comparison of the monograms and magistrates' symbols on these coins with identical monograms and symbols on coins of Philip V, the writer proves beyond all doubt that Eckhel and Müller were right in conjecturally assigning them to that reign, and that Lenormant (*Rev. Num.*, 1852), Bompais (*Examen chronologique des monnaies frappées par la communauté des Macédoniens*, 1876), and Head (*Hist. Num.*, 1887), were all three mistaken in attributing them to the period of the autonomy of the four Macedonian provinces. Some of the bronze coins reading **ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝΩΝ**, &c., hitherto assigned to the time when Macedonia was a Roman province (after B.C. 148), are also restored by Gaebler, on grounds which admit of no dispute, to Philip's reign.

B. V. H.

MISCELLANEA.

THE GOLD MEDAL PRESENTED TO DR. EDWARD JENNER BY THE MEDICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON IN 1804.—This medal is mentioned in Dr. J. Baron's *Life of Edward Jenner* (London, 1839), and in the descriptions of medical medals by Rudolphi, Kluyskens, Duisburg, &c. Duisburg¹ describes it as a medal bearing the inscription :—“Don. Soc. Mod. Londin. Ann. Salnt. 1778. Institnt. E. Jenner M.D. Socio Suo Eximio Ob Vaccinationem Exploratam.”

The description of the medal, copied from book to book, was obviously incomplete, and consequently Dr. J. Brettauer asked me last year (1895) to find out, if possible, what the medal really was, and if it still existed. Mr. W. R. Hall kindly showed me portions of the manuscript Minutes of the Council of the Medical Society, which proved beyond a doubt that the medal presented by the Society to Jenner was the gold Fothergillian medal.

Extract from the Minutes of Monday, November 7th, 1803 :—“It was moved by Dr. Lettsom and seconded by Dr. Bradley, ‘That this Society present a gold medal, value ten guineas, struck from the Fothergillian die and accompanied with a suitable inscription, to Dr. Jenner, as a testimony of respect to the discoverer of Vaccine Inoculation.’”

Extract from the Minutes of Monday, February 13th, 1804 :—“It was resolved that the motto to the gold medal to be delivered to Dr. Jenner be the following :—‘E. Jenner socio suo eximio ob vaccinationem exploratam.’”

It is not stated in the Minutes when the medal was actually presented to Dr. Jenner, but he doubtless received it on the occasion of the anniversary dinner of the Society, March 8th, 1804.

The medal presented to Dr. Jenner was therefore the gold Fothergillian medal (of the value of ten guineas), founded on

¹ C. A. Rudolphi, *Recentioris Aevi Numismata Virorum de Rebus Medicis et Physicis Meritorum*. C. L. de Duisburg's edition, 1862, page 230, No. DCLX, 2.

June 8th, 1784, in honour of Dr. John Fothergill (1712—1780). The first time that this medal was awarded was in 1787, to Dr. William Falconer. The only other recipients were Dr. Robert Willan (1790), Dr. J. C. Lettsom (1791), John Mason Good (1795), Dr. Francis Boutiatz (1801), and Dr. Edward Jenner (1803). Afterwards it was never again awarded, but another gold medal, of the value of twenty guineas, was founded in 1814, and was first awarded in 1824 (to Robert W. Bampfield). This latter medal is still awarded, as the Fothergillian gold medal of the Medical Society, and bears on the obverse the portrait of Dr. Anthony Fothergill (1735—1813), a benefactor of the Medical Society, and founder (in 1810) of the magnificent gold Fothergillian medal of the Royal Humane Society of London.

The John Fothergill gold medal of the Medical Society is thus described by Mr. Grueber (*Num. Chron.*, 1891, p. 93), from the specimen in the British Museum Collection :—

Obr.—Bust of Fothergill to right, in tie-wig and close-buttoned coat; on shoulders, L. P. F. (signature of medallist, Louis Piugo fecit). *Leg.* JOHANNES FOTHERGILL MEDICVS EGREGIVS AMICIS CARVS OMNIVM AMICVS.

Rev.—Within laurel-wreath, in which are entwined two serpents, MEDICINÆ & SCIENTIÆ NATVRALIS INCREMENTO. Above, DON. SOC. MED. LOND. AN. SALVT. 1778. INSTIT.

Diameter, 1·9 inches (49 millim.).

Baron (*op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 457) states that Jenner's medal was inscribed :—“E. Jenner, M.D., Socio suo eximio ob Vaccinationem exploratam.” This inscription must have been on the edge of the medal or on its case. The edge of the British Museum specimen is not inscribed, but it may have been the actual medal presented to Jenner,² if the inscription referred to by Baron was on the case. Duisburg, in speaking of the medal, has evidently combined the inscription given by Baron with part of the inscription on the reverse.

F. PARKES WEBER.

² Probably only six examples were ever struck in gold.

INDEX.

A.

'Abd ur Rahmān, coins of, 307, 341
Abdera, coin of, 11
Afghānistān, coins of, 277
Agathopolis, Thraecian Chersonese, coin of, 88
Akbar, coins of, 160, 179
Alamgir II, coins of, 175
Alexander I of Macedon (?), coin of, 16
'Ali Mohammed, coins of, 289
Amathus, coins of, 31
ANAN. engraver at Messana, 123
Antoninus Pius, medallion of, 47
Antwerp, bronze medallion on the delivery of, in 1577, 273
Aquila Severa, coins of, 196
Asia Minor (?), coin of, 99
Atrax in Thessaly, coins of, 16
Aurangzib, coins of 169, 180
Aurelius, coins of, 241
Ayyūb Khān, coins of, 301

B.

Bābar, coins of, 158
BAONALL-OAKLEY, MRS.:
A hoard of Roman coins found at Bishop's Wood, Ross-on-Wye, 209
Bārakzai dynasty, coins of, 277
Baronial coin of the reign of Stephen, 276
Bendus Vetus, in Phrygia, coins of, 25
Bēzant of James I, 254
Bishop's Wood, Ross-on-Wye, coins found at, 209
Boeotia, coin of, 17
British coin found near Watford, 183
British Museum, coins acquired by, in 1895, 85
Butting Bull on coin-types, evolution of, 135

C.

Cadbury Camp, Clevedon, coins found near, 238
Caesarea and Smyrna, coin of, 99
Cales, coin of, 186
Came, Acolis, coin of, 94
Camirus, Rhodi, coin of, 25
Campano-Tarentine coins, 188
Caracalla, coins of, 194
Caratius, coin of, 244, 346
Celeris in Cilicia, coin of, 25
Cerapā, Phrygia, coin of, 97
Charles IX of France, counter of, 271
Christian emblems on coins, 223
Cibyra, Phrygia, coin of, 98
Claudius II, coin of, 212, 240
Cnossus, coin of, 18, 90
Coining, the process of, 53
Combe's Catalogue, Corrections in, 144
Commodus, medallion of, 51
 coins of, 192
Constans, coins of, 228, 236, 245
Constantinopolis, coins of, 219, 236
Constantinus I, coins of, 215, 234.
 II, ", 225, 236
Constantius Chlorus, coin of, 244
Constantius II, coin of, 229, 238
Cos, coin of, 25
Crispus, coins of, 223
Croton, coins of, 5, 106
Croton and Sybaris, coin of, 9
Cumae, coins of, 1
Cyprus (?) coins of, 29, 30, 31, 32
Cythnos (?) coin of, 20
Cyzicus, coins of, 20, 91

D.

Dean, Forest of, 209
Dalmatius, coins of, 224, 235
Diadumenianus, coins of, 195
Dicaea in Thrace, coin of, 12

Diocletianus, coin of, 213, 243
Dost Mahomed, coins of, 284,
327, 329, 321

E.

Edward III, coins of, 78, 80
Edward IV, find of coins of the
time of, 72
Elagabalus, coins of, 195
Elizabeth, Phoenix medalet of, 274
ELY, TALFOURD, M.A., F.S.A. :—
The process of coining as seen in
a wall painting at Pompeii, 53
Engraver's name on coin of
Messana, 117
Ephesus, coin of, 95
Ephthalite coins, 246
Eryx in Sicily, coin of, 10, 86
Eurea, Thessaly, coin of, 83
Eustachius, coins of, 66
Evagoras II, coin of, 30
EVANS, ARTHUR J., M.A., F.S.A. :—
Contributions to Sicilian Numis-
matics, 85

EVANS, SIR JOHN, K.C.B. :—
On some rare or unpublished
Roman Medallions, 40
Ancient British coin found near
Watford, 133
Roman coins found at Bricken-
donbury, Hertford, 191

F.

Faiz Mahomed Khan, coins of,
307
Farrukh Siyar, coins of, 171
Faustina I., medallion of, 48
Find of Coins, Bishop's Wood, 209
" " Brickendoubury, 191
" " Cadbury Camp, 238
" " Guisborough, 72
" " Lipari Islands, 185
" " Messina, 101
Florianus, coin of, 242
Fothergill medal, the, 348
France, its condition in 1709,
medal illustrative of, 275
FRAZER, DR. W. :—
An undescribed Huguenot
medal (?), 271
A bronze medallion of the deli-
very of Antwerp in 1577, 273

G.

Gallienus, coins of, 240
Gallus, medallion of, 52
Gata, coins of, 195

Gordianus III, coins of, 200
Gorgos (?), coin of, 29

GRANTLEY, LORD :—

Note on a penny of Offa with
new type of reverse, 270
GRUEBER, H. A., F.S.A. :—
Phoenix medal of Elizabeth, 274
A medal illustrating the condi-
tion of France in 1709, 275

H.

HORN, B. V. :—
Notice of recent numismat-
ical publications, 345
Helena, coins of, 213, 233
Henry V, coins of, 78, 80
Henry VI, " 78, 81
Heracleia in Lucania, coin of, 4
Heraenius Etruscilla, coin of, 201
Heraenius Etruscus, coin of, 201
Hierapolis, Phrygia, coin of, 98
HILL, G. F., M.A. :—

A portrait of Perseus of Macedon,
34

Honorius, coins of, 245
Huguenot Medal (?), 271
Humayun, coins of, 159
Hunter Cabinet, Combe's catalogue
corrected, 144
Hyblean Megara, litra of, 124
Hydisus, Caria, coin of, 95

I.

Isaura, Cilicia, coins of, 28
Istrus, Moesia Inferior, coin of, 86

J.

Jahangir, coin of, 164, 179
James I., bezant of, 234
Jenner Medal, the, 348
Julia Domna, coins of, 194
Julia Maesa, coins of, 197
Julia Mamaea, coins of, 199
Julia Paula, coins of, 196
Julia Sonemias, coins of, 197

K.

Kamran, coins of, 159
Katané and Leontini, Alliance coin
of, 128

KING, L. WHITE :—
Novelties in Moghal coins, 155
History and Coinage of the
Bárákzai Dynasty of Afghán-
istán, 277
Kohandil Khan, coins of, 288, 336
Krimissos, The Altar of, 140

3

L.

Lampsacus, coins of, 23

LAURENCE, L. A. :—
On a Find of Coins chiefly of the time of Edward IV, 72

Leontini and Katanē, coin of, 128

Licinius I, coins of, 214
" II. 215

Lipari Islands, a Find in, 185

Lysimachia, in Thrace, coin of, 12

Lysimachus, King of Thrace, 14

M.

MACDONALD, G. :—
Notes on Combe's Catalogue of the Hunter Cabinet, 144
A Find in the Lipari Islands, 185

Mahammed Afzal Khān, coins of, 302, 329, 336

Mahammed Akbar Khān, coins of, 293

Mahammed Amin Khān, coins of, 307

Mahammed A'zam Khān, coins of, 303, 330, 337

Mahammed 'Azīm Khān, coins of, 292

Mahammed Hāshim Khān, coins of, 302

Mahammed Ishāk Khān, coins of, 304, 344

Mahammed Jān, coin of, 330

Mallus, in Cilicia, coin of, 29

Marcianopolis, in Moesia Inferior, coin of, 13

Marium (?), coin of, 32

Maximinus I, coins of, 200, 213, 244

Maximus, coin of, 200

Medallious, Roman, 41

Megara (Hyblaea), coin of, 124

Mende, coins of, 15

Messana and Lokri, coin of, 107

Messana and Syracuse, alliance of, 117

Messina, coins found near, 101

Metapoutum, coins of, 5

Milestones, Roman, 207

Mirza Sulimān, coins of, 157

Moghal Coins, novelties in, 155

Mohammed Shāh, coins of, 174

Mytilene (Lesbos), coin of, 94

N.

Naxos, coins of, 103

Neandria (Troas), coin of, 94

Neapolis, in Campania, coins of, 4, 186

Nicodamus (?), coin of, 30

Numerianus, coin of, 243

Nur Mahammed Khān, coins of, 306

Nysa, Lydia, coin of, 96

O.

Offa, penny of, 270

P.

PACKE, A. E., F.S.A. :—
The coins of Stephen, 59

PAGE, S. :—
Baronial coin of reign of Stephen, 275

Panjāb, coins of, 268

Panormus, coin of, 143

Paphos, coins of, 32

Parium, Mysia, coin of, 92

Perdiccas II (?), coin of, 16

Perinthus, in Thrace, coins of, 13

Perkins School Tokens, 262

Perseus of Macedon, portrait of, 34

Pertinax, coin of, 192

Peukelaus, coin of, 269

Pheneus, Arcadia, coin of, 90

Philippi, Macedonia, coin of, 88

Philippus I, coins of, 201

Philippus II, coin of, 201

Philippus V of Macedon, coins of, 35

Phocaea, Ionia, coin of, 95

Phoenix Medalet of Elizabeth, 274

Pir Mohammed, coins of, 291

Plautilla, coins of, 195

Paytos (?), coin of, 32

Polyxenus, coin of, 249

Pompeii, wall painting at, 53

Praesus, coin of, 18

PATROHARD. J. E. :—
Find of Roman coins near Cadbury Camp, 238

Probus, coins of, 242

Pupienus, coin of, 201

R.

Rafī'u-d-darajāt, coins of, 173

RARSON, E. J., M.A. :—
On the attribution of certain silver coins of Sāsānian Fabric, 246

Revue Numismatique, noticed, 345

Rhegium, coin of, 9

Rhegium, unpublished coin of, 185, 189

Richard II, coin of, 80
 RODOENS, C. J. :—
 Two new coins from the Panjāb, 268
 S.
 Salamis (?), coin of, 29
 Sallustia Barbia Orbiana, coins of, 199
 Samos, coins of, 24
 SANDEMAN, Lieut.-Col. J. G. :—
 On the Bezzant of James I, 254
 Sasanian coins, 246
 School Tokens, 262
 Septimius Severus, coins of, 193
 Severus Alexander, coins of, 197
 Shāh Akbar II, coins of, 178
 Shāh 'Alam II, coins of, 176, 181
 Shāh Jahān I, coins of, 167
 Shāh Jahān III, coins of, 176
 Sher 'Ali, coins of, 294, 329, 337
 Sicilian Numismatics, contributions to, 101
 Smyrna, Iouia, coin of, 99
 Stasiocicos (?), coin of, 32
 Stephen, coins of, 59
 Stephen, baronial coin of time of, 275
 Sultan Mahomed, coins of, 335
 Sybaris and Croton, coin of, 9
 Syracuse, coins of, 10

T.

Tacitus, coins of, 241
 Tarentum, coins of, 188
 Tarra, coin of, 19
 Tetricus, coin of, 245
 Theodora, coin of, 214, 234
 Theassaly, uncertain coin of, 89
 Thymbra, Troadis, coin of, 23
 Trajanus Decius, coins of, 201

U.
 Urbs Roma, coins of, 221, 237

V.

Valerianus, coin of, 245
 Velia, coins of, 188
 Victorinus, coin of, 240
 Vost, WILLIAM :—
 Novelties in Moghal coins, 155

W.

Wali Mahomed Khān, coins of, 305, 341
 Wāli Sher'Ali, coins of, 288, 341
 Watford, British coin found near, 183
 Wazīr Fatteh, coins of, 291
 WEBER, F. P. :—
 Perkins School tokens of the 17th century, 262
 On the Jenner Medal, 348
 WEBER, HERMANN :—
 On some unpublished or rare Greek coins, 1
 Wereric, coins reading, 64
 Willermus Duo, coins of, 63
 WROTH, WARWICK :—
 Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1895, 85

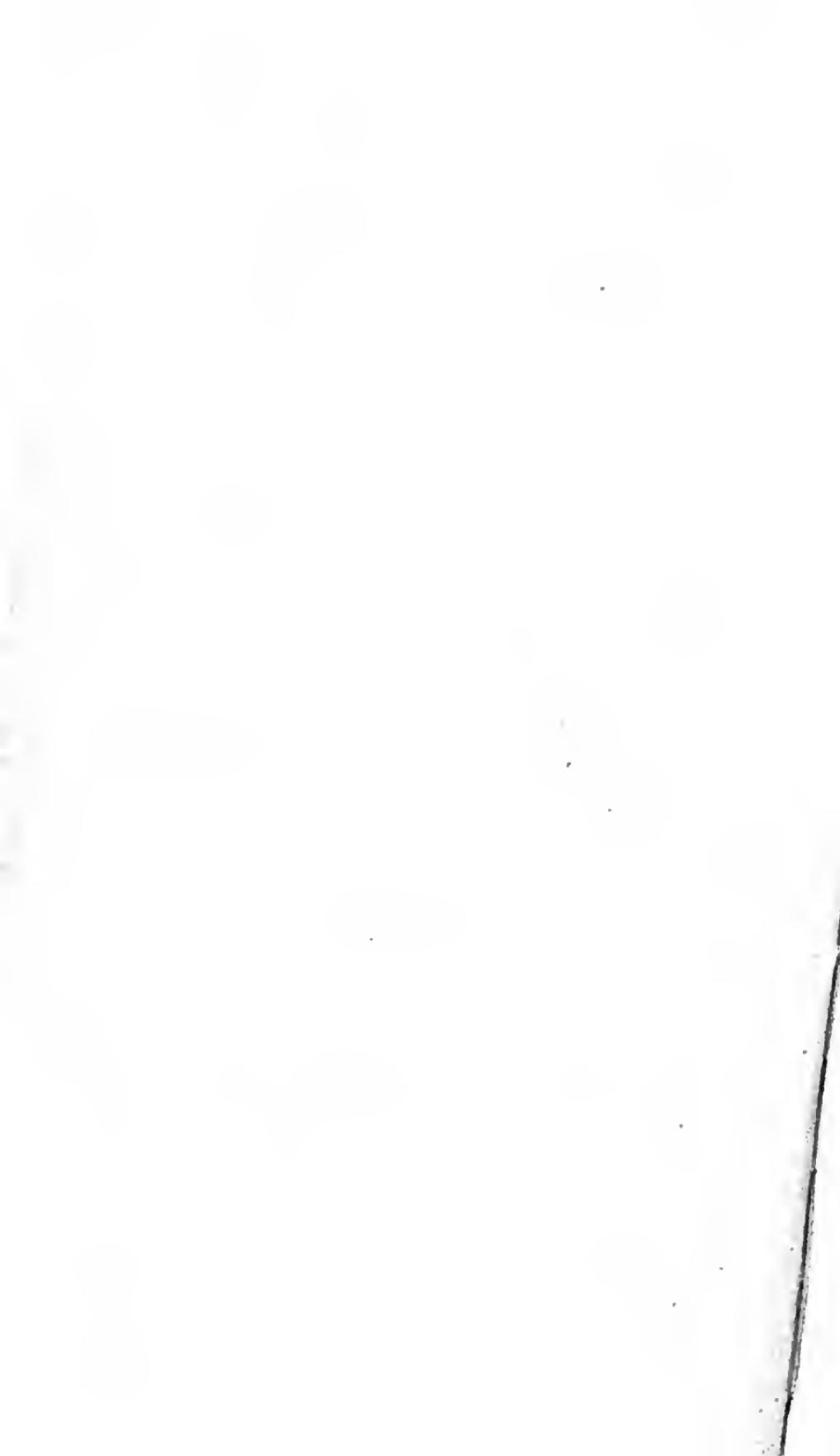
Y.

Y'akūb Khān, coins of, 299, 340

Z.

Zanklē, coins of, 101
 Zanklē, temporary restoration of, 109
 Zeitschrift für Numismatik, noticed, 347
 Zotimos (?), coin of, 31

END OF VOL. XVI.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1895—1896.

OCTOBER 17, 1895.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., Treas.R.S.,
V.P.S.A., F.G.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Bulletin de Numismatique. May—July, 1895.
2. Catalogue of Irish Coins in the Royal Irish Academy. By G. Coffey.
3. Sitzungsberichte der k. preussischen Akad. der Wissensch. Parts I—XXV, 1895.
4. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 1er trimestre, 1895.
5. Bulletin historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie. 174 livr.
6. Revue belge de Numismatique, 3 and 4 livr. 1895.
7. Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. xv. Part I.
8. The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia. Vol. i. By W. M. Ramsay. From the Clarendon Press.
9. Plaque of Charles IV. By the Vicomte B. de Jonghe. From the Author.

10. Deux monnaies frappées à Luxembourg. By the Vicomte B. de Jonghe. From the Author.
11. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica. Fasc. 2, 3, 1895.
12. Coins of the Achaean League. By Major-General M. G. Clerk. From the Author.
13. Catalogue of Coins of the Indian Museum. Vol. ii. By C. J. Rodgers. From the Trustees of the Museum.
14. Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique. May—August, 1895.
15. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Vol. v, Part II.
16. Muhammadan Coinage of India before the time of Baber. By C. J. Rodgers. From the Author.
17. Mogul Copper Coins. By C. J. Rodgers. From the Author.
18. Revue numismatique française. 2 and 3 trimestre, 1895.
19. Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande. Part XCVI—XCVII.
20. Archaeologia Cantiana. Vol. ii.
21. Acclamaciones de los Monarcas catolicos en el nuevo Mundo. Par A. Rosa. From the Author.
22. Contributo alla storia della Moneta romana. By E. Gabrici. From the Author.
23. The Practice of Counterfeiting Coins and Medals. By L. H. Low. From the Author.
24. Revue suisse de Numismatique. January—July, 1895.
25. The Currency of the Farther East. By J. H. Stewart Lockhart. From the Author.
26. Le Trésor du Pas de l'Echelle. By A. Ladè. From the Author.
27. Silver Coins and Mints of Spanish America. By S. Smith, Jan. From the Author.
28. Sveriges mynt under Medeltiden. By H. Hildebrand. From the Author.
29. Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique. Tomes 26—29, and Annuaire of the same, 1894—5.

30. Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. Vol. x. Part II.

31. Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum. Vol. iv. Presented by J. M. Johnstone, Esq.

Mr. R. Hewitt exhibited a selection of gold Angels of Henry VII and Henry VIII, from a hoard recently discovered, which is supposed to have consisted of about two hundred specimens.

Mr. A. Prevost exhibited a specimen of the rare satirical medal struck at Gotha on the occasion of the flight of Prince James (the Elder Pretender) on December 9th (O.S.), 1688. On the obverse is Father Petre riding on a lobster, and carrying in his arms the infant prince, whose head is surmounted by a little windmill; behind this group is a French ship, and around, the legend ALLONS MON PRINCE NOUS SOMMES EN BON CHEMIN. In the exergue is IAC. FRANC. EDVARD SVPOSEE. 20 IVIN. 1688 (N.S.). On the reverse is an armorial shield bearing a windmill and surmounted by a biretta. Encircling the shield is a rosary of two rows of beads, between which is the motto HONY SOIT QVI NON Y PENSE; around, LES ARMES DU PRETENDU PRINCE DE GALLES. Two dies were made for the reverse of this medal, and specimens of both of them are in the British Museum. The other variety, which is somewhat more rare, bears the motto HONY SOIT QVI BON Y PENSE.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence communicated a paper on a group of English pennies reading EDW. REX, and endeavoured to show that these and the so-called "pattern groats," usually attributed to Edward I, were issued simultaneously, and that both of them must be assigned to the early part of the reign of Edward III.

Mr. E. J. Rapson read some extracts from a paper contributed by Lieut.-Col. B. Lowsley on the coinage of Ceylon. See vol. xv., p. 211.

NOVEMBER 21, 1895.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *Journal of the Institute of Bankers.* Vol. xvi.
2. *Bulletin de Numismatique.* September, 1895.
3. *Archaeologia Aeliana.* Vol. xvii. Part II. From the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne.
4. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.* Vol. v. Part VIII. From the Society.
5. *Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique.* September—October, 1895. From the Society.
6. *Publications de la Section historique de l'Institut royal, grand-ducal de Luxembourg.* Vols. xlvi—xlii.

Messrs. E. G. Hodge and H. J. Selby were elected Members.

The President exhibited a selection of Roman Imperial gold coins in brilliant condition, which formed part of the splendid hoard discovered last April at Bosco Reale, near Pompeii. The coins in this find, more than one thousand in number, were nearly all in very fine preservation, bearing the heads of the Emperors Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian, 964 of them being of Nero.

Mr. A. Prevost exhibited the silver medal struck on the foundation, in 1826, of University College, London, which then bore the title of the "University of London." On the obverse is Wilkins's design of the building, and on the reverse the names of all the members of the Council of the University in the year 1826, including those of Henry Brougham, George Grote, Joseph Hume, James Mill, Lord John Russell, &c.

The Rev. G. F. Crowther exhibited a specimen in pewter of the satirical medal struck after the flight of James II and Prince James, having the word BON and not NON in the

legend. This medal (which is described in *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, p. 643, and resembles that exhibited on October 17th) is unpublished in pewter.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence exhibited an unfinished engraver's proof of a crown of George IV, bearing a head differing from any hitherto published. He also read a paper on overstruck coins, in which he pointed out the value of the evidence afforded by such coins for fixing the chronological sequence of the various issues, more especially in the Anglo-Saxon and early English series.

DECEMBER 19, 1895.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Journal of the Institute of Bankers. Vol. xvi. Part IX.
2. Bulletin de l'Institut international de Bibliographie. No. 1.

Mr. T. Hodge was elected a Member.

The President exhibited an impression of an ancient British gold coin of the type of Evans, pl. B. No. 8, found at Oldbury, Ightham, Kent.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence exhibited two half-groats of Henry VIII; one of his second coinage, m.m. rose, legend chiefly in Roman characters; the other, also of his second coinage, with bust in profile, m.m. pheon, and the remarkable obverse legend, "Henric. 8. D. G. Agl. Fra. z. Hib. Rex." This is the legend of the third or base coinage, which is supposed to have been issued in 1543. Mr. Lawrence also exhibited a Canterbury penny of fine silver, with bust facing and with the reverse of the preceding second issue, as indicated by the cross endings.

Sir J. Evans read a paper on some rare or unpublished

Roman medallions, in which he dealt with the difficult question as to their origin and purpose. The writer believed the majority of the medallions (even of those of bronze) to have been struck at the Imperial, not at the Senatorial Mint, and while he did not entirely reject the possibility of some of them having circulated as multiples of the as, sestertius, &c., he pointed out that very few of them could have been primarily intended for current coin. The large and well-defined class of medallions having on the reverse the figures of the three *Monetae* the writer thought must have been struck for mint purposes, and very probably for distribution to provincial mints as models for the portraits of the emperors. In illustration of his views Sir J. Evans exhibited some remarkable specimens from his own cabinet. The paper is printed in vol. xvi, p. 40.

JANUARY 16, 1896.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *Revue numismatique française.* 4me trimestre, 1895.
2. *Revue suisse de Numismatique.* Livr. 4, 5, 1895.
3. *Bulletin historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie.* Livr. 175.
4. *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfrennden im Rheinlande.* Heft 98.
5. *Revue belge de Numismatique.* Livr. I., 1896.
6. *Journal of Hellenic Studies.* Vol. xv. Part II.
7. Reports on the prospects of research in Alexandria, by D. G. Hogarth and E. F. Benson. From the Hellenic Society.
8. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.* Vol. iii, No. 4.; and *Transactions* Vol. xxx., Parts XV—XVII.

9. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.
Vol. v. Part IV.

10. Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique. Nov.
—Dec. 1895.

M. L. E. Brunn and Messrs. A. Propert and H. W. Taffs
were elected Members.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence exhibited a penny of Henry IV, struck
at London, m.m. cross pattée, inscr. "Henric. Rex Anglie,"
&c., annulet and pellet at sides of crown; rev. "Civitas
London," pellets in quarters united, slipped trefoil before
"London," the letters N in the Roman character (unpub-
lished).

He also exhibited a Durham penny of Richard III, with the
letter S on the king's breast. This coin, though apparently
clipped, is of the full weight (12 grs.), and was probably issued
in this condition from the Mint.

Mr. Durlacher exhibited a gold twenty-shilling piece of the
Commonwealth dated 1654.

Dr. H. Weber read a paper, communicated by Dr. F. Imhoof-
Blumer, on Greek coins, in which he described and commented
upon the following coins: Obols of the Phocians and Locrians
with the mark of value Ο for ὀβολός; tritartemoria of Pale
with the letter T thrice repeated; an obol of the Arcadians with
ΟΔ for ὀδελός, a dialectic form of ὀβολός; hemiobols of Heræa;
coins of Tenos; coins of Amastris and Sebaste in Paphlagonia;
hemiobols and tetartemoria of Colephon; coins of Clazomenæ;
the Δευδροφόρος on coins of Magnesia; coins of Aspendus and
Selge, and of Antiochia ad Cragum in Cilicia, a town of which
no coins were previously known.

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Head drew attention to
the importance of the restoration to Colophon of a series of
small silver coins previously attributed to Sicyon, Tegea, and
other towns in the Peloponnesus.

Mr. G. F. Hill made some remarks upon Dr. Imhoof-Blumer's
attribution to Aspendus of certain coins which he thought

might, with equal or greater probability, be assigned to the town of Selge.

The Meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to Dr. Imhoof-Blumer for his valuable paper. See vol. xv. p. 269.

FEBRUARY 20, 1896.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. The Medals and Tokens of Rhode Island. By H. R. Storer, M.D. From the Author.
2. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vol. xvi. Parts III—IV.
3. Journal of the Institute of Bankers. Vol. xvii. Part II.
4. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 3me trimestre, 1895.
5. Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Band XX. Heft 2.
6. Mémoires de la Société royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1894.
7. Bulletin de Numismatique. Jan., 1896.
8. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica. Fasc. 4, 1895.
9. Numismatische Zeitschrift. Bd. XXIII.—XXVI.

Messrs. T. Bearman, S. B. Boulton, F. J. Haverfield, and G. Pearson were elected Members, and Mr. C. J. Rodgers an Honorary Member.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence exhibited a sceat of the type of *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Vol. i. pl. III. 7, but reading apparently “ Ciolnodh T ” on the obverse; also a half-crown of Charles I, struck at York, similar to Hawkins No. 498, and Ruding pl. XXI, 2, but with a minute b in the centre of the o of EBOR under the horse. This b, Mr. Lawrence thought, stood for Briot, who came to

London in 1628, and, as chief engraver of the Mint, accompanied the king during his progress to Scotland, and probably struck the York coins while Charles was in that city in 1633.

Mr. J. B. Caldecott exhibited some very rare specimens of the Rosa Americana two-penny pieces of George I and II, one undated and others of 1722, 1723, 1724, and 1783, the last an electrotype from an original in America: also farthings of William and Mary, 1689 in pewter, and 1692 in copper.

Mr. Talfourd Ely read a paper on an interesting wall painting in the Casa dei Vetti, lately discovered at Pompeii, on which the entire process of coining money at the Roman mint is represented in an ideal form. See Vol. xvi., p. 58.

Sir J. Evans exhibited an ancient British gold coin found near Watford, Herts. In style this coin resembles those which are usually found in Yorkshire and the adjoining counties. The writer suggested that, as the coin was found near the Roman road leading from Watford to Verulamium, it might have been brought south by some Roman soldier returning from the conquest of the territory of the Brigantes in A.D. 71. See Vol. xvi. p. 183.

MARCH 19, 1896.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Journal of the Institute of Bankers. Vol. xvii. Part III.
2. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Parts XXXIX—XLIII., 1895.
3. Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmerkers Bevaring (Proceedings), 1894.

4. Stavanger Domkirke. By N. Nieslagam. From the Author.

5. Bulletin historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie.

6. The Irish "St. Patrick" or "Floreat Rex" Coinage. By W. Frazer. From the Author.

7. Trois Monnaies Liégeoises iuédites. By the Vicomte B. de Jonghe. From the Author.

Messrs. E. G. Hodge, S. B. Boulton, R. T. Andrews, and T. Bearman were admitted Members.

Mr. J. B. Caldecott exhibited specimens of the Bermuda hog-money, viz., a shilling, a sixpence, and a twopence.

Dr. F. P. Weber exhibited a medal of Louis XII, of France, and Anne of Bretagne, made at Lyons by the medallist Jean Lepère.

Mr. Durlacher exhibited a halfpenny of Edward I, strnck at Berwick, and having on the reverse in two angles of the cross a bear's head, the symbol of the city.

Mr. Pinches exhibited a medal of the Grand Master of Malta, Nicolas Cotoniere, having his portrait on one side and his shield of arms on the other.

The President read a paper on a hoard of Roman silver coins found at Brickendonbury, Hertford. The hoard consisted of 432 denarii, extending from the reign of Commodus to that of Herennius Etruscus. It comprised many rare specimens, semo unpublished. It is printed in Vol. xvi., p. 191.

Mr. G. F. Hill read a paper "On a Portrait of Persens of Macedon." On the evidence of the tetradrachms of Philip V, which represent some member of that king's family (apparently Perseus) in the guise of the hero Perseus, and of the tetradrachms of Perseus himself, he identified as portraits of that prince, a marble head (the so-called Menelans) of Pergamene style in the British Museum, and a similar head at the Louvre. See Vol. xvi., p. 84.

APRIL 16, 1896.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *Revue suisse de Numismatique.* Livr. vi, 1895.
2. *Archaeologia Aeliana*, Part xlvii. From the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne.
3. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1894—5.
4. *Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest.* 4^e trimestre, 1895.
5. *Bulletin de Numismatique.* March, 1896.
6. *Revue belge de Numismatique.* Livr. 2, 1896.
7. *Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique.* January—February, 1896.
8. *Revue numismatique française.* 1er trimestre, 1896.
9. *Nouvelles acquisitions numismatiques de M. P. Linévitch.*

By W. Tiesenhausen. From the Author.

Mr. C. E. Simpson was elected a Member of the Society.

Mr. T. Bliss exhibited three pennies of Alfred and one of Archbishop Plegmund, from a hoard found in a churchyard near Ingatstone, Essex. Those of Alfred were similar to Hawkins, type 10 (moneyer Ethelvne) and type 11 (moneyers Bernvald and Diarvld); the coin of Plegmund resembled Hawkins, type 5 (moneyer Hnnereth).

Mr. Bliss also exhibited a selection from a large find, consisting of the outer rims cut from silver coins, discovered last year in a cellar in London. Part of this hoard was found in a large "bellarmine" or "greybeard," and part in a "costrel." These rims appeared to have been carefully cut with a pair of shears from coins of Charles II's first coinage. They differed from the ordinary clippings frequent in those days, the usual practice having been not to remove the outer rim entirely.

Considering the size of the hoard, it is remarkable that no coins of the Commonwealth were included in it.

Mr. Bliss also showed a second specimen of the York half-crown of Charles I, by Briot, from the same dies as the one exhibited last February by Mr. Lawrence, having a small B (Briot's initial) in the centre of the o of EBOR.

Col. J. G. Sandeman communicated a paper on the Bezants of James I. These pieces are said to have been large gold medals of the value of fifteen pounds given in charity by the king at the principal Church festivals. An impression in silver of the obverse side of James I's Bezant (a cast of which was exhibited) is preserved in the British Museum. This paper is printed in vol. xvi., p. 254.

Dr. H. Weber read extracts from a paper on rare and interesting Greek coins acquired by him during the last few years. See vol xvi., p. 1.

MAY 21, 1896.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Journal of the Institute of Bankers. Vol. xvii. Parts IV—V.
2. Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique. March—April, 1896.
3. Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. Heft 4, 1895, and Heft 1, 1896.
4. Mémoires de la Société royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1895.
5. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Vol. vi. Part 1.
6. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica. Fasc. 1, 1896.

7. Medal struck in commemoration of the opening of the Tower Bridge. From the Corporation of the City of London.

Mr. C. B. Fry and Mr. C. R. Peers were elected Members.

Mr. W. Frazer exhibited a bronze plaque commemorating the delivery of Antwerp in 1577. It is one of a series of seven which are engraved in "Patria Libertati Restituta," and republished by Sir William Stirling Maxwell. They bear the signature of "Merten de Vos In." The scene represented on the plaque or medallion exhibited is the ejection of the company commanded by Captain de Blois, Seigneur of Freslong, from the citadel of Antwerp by the three other companies which formed the Walloon garrison; this occurred on the first day of August, 1577. This is the only known existing plaque of the series. See vol. xvi, p. 278.

Mr. Frazer also exhibited a French jeton of the sixteenth century, probably made at Nuremberg, which in his opinion related to the massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572. It was found during some excavations in the older districts of Dublin. See vol. xvi., p. 271.

Mr. R. A. Hoblyn exhibited a testoon of Henry VIII, m.m. lis; also a half-groat, third coinage, m.m. lis; and a "Redde Cuique" groat, first coinage, m.m. bow, of the same reign. These three coins came from the Montagu collection.

Mr. Hoblyn also exhibited a groat of Edward VI, first coinage, of the *rosyi*, &c., type, but reading on the obverse *EDWARD* for *EDWARD*, m.m. arrow. This coin came from the Boyne collection.

Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley communicated a paper on a large hoard of late Roman coins discovered at Bishop's Wood, near Ross-on-Wye, Herefordshire. The hoard consisted of 17,550 "third brass coins" or copper denarii, which extended from the reign of Claudius II, Gothicus, to that of Constantius II, A.D. 361. The reigns more fully represented in the hoard were those of Constantine the Great (10,077 coins), Constantine II, 3,683 coins), and Constantius II, (2,201 coins). Of Helena,

the mother of Constantine the Great, there were 815 coins, and of Theodora, second wife of Constantius I, 271 coins. To her paper Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley appended a map showing the district where the coins were discovered. See vol. xvi, p. 209.

JUNE 18, 1896.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., Treas.R.S.,
F.S.A., F.G.S., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting were read and confirmed.

Bernard Roth, Esq., was elected a Member of the Society.

The Report of the Council was then read to the meeting as follows:—

GENTLEMEN,—The Council again have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society.

With great regret they have to announce the loss by death of the following seven Ordinary Members:—

Rev. Thomas Calvert.
C. E. Fewster, Esq.
W. J. Gillespie, Esq.
J. Duffett Lucas, Esq.
Prof. J. H. Middleton, F.S.A.
J. Joseph Nunn, Esq.
The Right Hon. Lord de Tabley, F.S.A.

And of one Honorary Member:—

M. Henri Sauvaire.

Also, by resignation, of the following ten Ordinary Members.

R. Arnot, Esq.	F. G. Renard, Esq.
T. W. Greene, Esq.	C. J. Rodgers, Esq.
W. Heaton Jacob, Esq.	E. Shorthouse, Esq.
J. W. Ford, Esq.	The Hon. Kathleen Ward.
W. F. Lawrence, Esq.	Capt. A. R. Warren.

On the other hand the Council have much pleasure in recording the election of the following fourteen Ordinary Members:—

Thomas Bearman, Esq.
 S. B. Boulton, Esq., J.P.
 M. L. E. Brunn.
 Claude Basil Fry, Esq.
 F. J. Haverfield, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
 Edw. G. Hodge, Esq.
 Thos. Hodge, Esq.
 G. Pearson, Esq., J.P.
 C. R. Peers, Esq., B.A.
 A. Propert, Esq.
 Bernard Roth, Esq.
 Henry John Selby, Esq.
 C. E. Simpson, Esq.
 H. W. Taffs, Esq.

And of one Honorary Member:—

C. J. Rodgers, Esq.

16. PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

According to the Report of the Hon. Secretaries the numbers of the Members are as follows:—

	Ordinary.	Honorary.	Total
June, 1895	267	20	287
Since elected	14	1	15
	281	21	302
Deceased	7	1	8
Resigned	10	—	10
Erased	3	—	3
June, 1896	261	20	281

The Council have further to announce that they have awarded the Medal of the Society to F. W. Madden, Esq., formerly Secretary of this Society, and one of the Editors of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, for his services to Numismatic Science, especially in connection with the Jewish Coinage.

The Treasurer's Report—which shows a balance of £489 16s. 8d. as compared with £322 6s. 6d. of last year—is as follows:—

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements of the Numismatic Society, from June, 1895, to June, 1896.

Dr. THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON IN ACCOUNT WITH ALFRED EVELYN COPP, TREASURER. Cr.

		£	6	4		£	6	4
To Deficit on cashing Engel's Subscription		0	0	2	By Balance from last Statement	322	8	6
" ditto ditto Lewis		0	0	3	Entrance Fees	13	13	0
" Messrs. Virtue & Co., for printing Chronicle, Part I. and II. of 1895 } 81 15 6		81	15	6	Composition Fees	63	0	0
" ditto ditto Part III.		40	15	4	Annual Subscriptions	237	6	0
" ditto ditto Part IV.		44	3	7	Balance in hand from A. B. Triggs on account } of Subscription for 1897 } 0 19 0			
" The Autotype Company, Plates		41	8	0	Received for "Chronicles," viz.—			
" The Royal Asiatic Society, one year's rent due } 30 0 0		30	0	Mr. B. Quaritch	61	8	1	
" Mrs. Harper, for Attendance, Tea, Coffee, &c.		11	1	8	I. D. Robertson	0	3	9
" Dr. F. Imhoff Blumer for Lithographing plate } and supplying 600 copies		3	15	6	Mr. Bliss (per Virtue & Co.)	4	4	1
" Mr. J. Anderson, for Drawing from Photo. of } Fresco, Cupida Coining Money; and for Drawing } Messrs. W. Griggs & Sons for printing Wall } painting from the House of the Vettii at } Pompeii		2	15	0	Col. Tobin Bush, for Foreign Postage	65	15	10
" Messrs. H. Bowyer & Co., for Bookbinding		6	1	8	July Dividend on £300 £24 per cent. } Consols (less Tax) } October ditto ditto	0	2	0
" Hatton & Son (2 Receipt Books)		0	10	0	January ditto ditto	5	6	4
" Messrs. Hachette & Cie, for "Dictionnaire des Antiquités"		0	3	April ditto ditto	5	6	4	
" Mr. J. Pinches, for Engraving		0	4	6	May ditto ditto	5	6	4
" Messrs. Spink, for pricing the Monogram Catalogue		0	9	0	June ditto ditto	5	6	4
" Fire Insurance		0	15	0	July ditto ditto	5	6	4
" Secretaries, for Postages, &c.		6	0	August ditto ditto	5	6	4	
" Treasurer, for Postages, Receipts, &c.		6	0	September ditto ditto	5	6	4	
" Collector (Mr. A. W. Hunt), for Commission and } Postages to 16th June, 1896		6	9	October ditto ditto	5	6	4	
" Balance in hand		439	16	3	November ditto ditto	5	6	4
						21	6	4
						£724	9	8

Examined with the Vouchers, compared as to additions, and found correct.
 ALFRED E. COPP, Honorary Treasurer.
 ALEX. DURLACHER } Auditors.
 A. PREVOST

16th June, 1896.

£724 9 8

After the Report of the Council had been read the President addressed Mr. Madden as follows:

Mr. Madden,—

It is with much pleasure that I hand to you the Medal of this Society, which has been awarded to you by the Council in recognition of your services to Numismatic science, especially in connection with the Jewish coinage. I do so with the more pleasure as I remember the old times, now more than a generation ago, when for nine years we were associated together as Secretaries of this Society, and for nearly the same period as two of the Editors of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. In those days your communications to the Society were interesting and frequent, amounting in all to nearly forty in number, and though occasionally relating to other subjects, were in the main confined to Roman and Jewish numismatics. Your useful little *Handbook of Roman Coins* appeared in 1861, and was followed by your larger *History of the Jewish Coinage* in 1864. The work, however, on which your fame will mainly rest is that forming Vol. ii. of the *International Numismata Orientalia*, your *Coins of the Jews*, published in 1881. In that handsome and well-illustrated volume, all the information that we possessed at that time with regard to this very interesting series of coins was brought together in methodical form; and your book still remains, and will probably long remain, the standard authority on the subject. A work such as this would alone deserve recognition from your brother numismatists, but when in addition we consider how much you have done for Roman Imperial numismatics and your long and zealous labours in connexion with this Society, we must all feel how well deserved is this tribute of esteem that I have had the pleasure of placing in your hands.

Mr. Madden replied as follows:—

Sir John,—

A day perhaps comes to every man in his life when he may honestly feel inclined, to use a vulgar expression, to shake hands with himself, and at this moment I possess that feeling. That the Council of your learned Society, of which I have been a member since 1858 (thirty-eight years), should have chosen me as the recipient of what may be described as the "blue ribbon" of Numismatic Science and Literature, is a distinguished honour and a matter of the greatest satisfaction to me, and is certainly a high reward for the time and labour spent in the pursuit of a subject dear to all of us present here to-night.

I must necessarily, after hearing the flattering words which you, Sir John, have been good enough to say to me, confess that you make me cognisant of my own unworthiness and shortcomings; but I can plead, that though I may be not certain of my worthiness for this honour, I can conscientiously say that I have devoted the greater portion of my life to the study of Numismatics in the love of the subject and with zeal.

There is one reflection which this meeting brings back to me—the old home of the Society and the memory of the distinguished men now gone to rest—Edward Hawkins, Edward Thomas, J. B. Bergne, J. G. Pfister, genial George Virtue, kind-hearted W. S. W. Vaux, and many others. These memories are the only sad part of my thoughts.

I am pleased, Sir John, to notice how flourishing the Society is, and I hope it may long continue to advance.

Some one says somewhere that we often purchase our future life at the expense of a life spent in the effort. If so, the honour you have conferred upon me this evening shows I have not spent my life in vain.

In conclusion I may quote an hexameter verse, which I read years ago in one of the portentous folios of which our forefathers were so fond: "Feci quod potui, faciant meliora sequentes."

I thank you, Sir John, and the Council of the Numismatic Society for this great honour.

The President then delivered the following Address :—

In again addressing you at one of our Anniversary Meetings, I am sorry that, as was the case last year, I have to record a falling off in our numbers, and this, moreover, notwithstanding the fact that during the past twelve months we have elected no fewer than 14 members into our body.

This satisfactory increase has, however, been more than neutralised by the death of 7 of our members and the resignation or removal of 18 of them. Our numbers now stand at 261, which, though less than that of the three last years, is still in excess of the figure for 1892. As you have heard from our Treasurer's Report, our finances are in a prosperous condition; so much so, that the Council will be fully justified in increasing our investments.

There is some satisfaction in knowing that the number of members that during the past year we have lost by death has been rather less than usual. Among them, however, there are several that require some special notice at my hands.

Mr. C. E. Fewster, of Hull, joined the Society in 1879, and was known to many of our members. He paid special attention to local antiquities, and had an extensive library of works connected with Hull. His collection of Hull tokens, and of coins and tokens of Northumbria, was very complete, and numbered several thousands. His tokens were utilised by Mr. Gill in his paper on "Unpublished Yorkshire Tokens."¹ He was much respected in Hull, where he took an active part in political and literary life. After a lengthened illness, he died on April 2nd, at the early age of forty-eight.

The Rev. T. Calvert, of Brighton, had been a member of our

¹ *N.C.*, N.S., xx., 234.

body since 1875, Mr. J. D. Lucas, of Bristol, since 1890, and Mr. Gillespie, of Stillorgan, Dublin, since 1878. None of these three gentlemen, however, had made any communications to our Journal.

Lord de Tabley, on the contrary, or, to speak of him by the name by which perhaps he is better known, the Hon. John Leicester Warren, was at one time a frequent contributor to the *Numismatic Chronicle*. In 1861, when our Society numbered little over seventy ordinary members, and when an attempt was being made to give it new life and extend its usefulness by commencing a New Series of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Mr. Warren, who was then a young man of twenty-six, rendered ready assistance by serving on our Council, and by giving us no less than four contributions from his pen, which appeared in our first volume. One of these related to a curious jeton of Perkin Warbeck, struck at Tournai, which had been described by M. A. de Longpérier. A second paper, "On Some Coins of Constans II and his Sons found in the Island of Cyprus," was illustrated by an anastatic plate of his own drawing. Its subject was a hoard of over 500 coins which he had acquired at Athens on his return from the East in 1858. The other two papers were in some degree supplemental to this, as they related to Byzantine art and to the **EN ΤΥΤΟ NIKA** and **ΑΝΑΝΕΩΣΙΣ** types. It was, I believe, during this eastern travel that Mr. Warren formed a friendship with Lord and Lady Strangford, Dr. Finlay, and Mr. Freeman the historian, all of whom exercised an influence on the nature of his studies. In Vol. iii. of the *Chronicle*, 1863, is a paper by him on "Some Coins of Lycia under the Rhodian Domination and of the Lycian League." In the volume for the following year appeared an important paper on the "Copper Coinage of the Achæan League," illustrated by three plates engraved by Fairholt, showing coins of thirty-two towns, as against those of twenty-one figured by Sestini. In 1863 had been published his *Essay on Greek Federal Coinage*,

which forms an admirable numismatic illustration of Freeman's *History of Federal Government*. From this time, however, his activity in the direction of numismatics gave way to his poetical temperament, and his volumes, *Præterita*, *Philoctetes*, and *Orestes*, successively appeared, to be followed by two three-volume novels, two volumes of poetry, a five-act tragedy, and, in 1895, by a second series of *Poems, Dramatic and Lyrical*. But besides poetry, he had other favourite hobbies. He was among the earliest collectors of book-plates, his Guide to the Study of which was printed in 1880. He was an accomplished botanist, and was one of the first authorities on *rubi*. He was also a student of other branches of natural history. Excessively sensitive, very shy and retiring, he perhaps never fully occupied the position in the world to which he was justly entitled. I for one can speak to his charm of manner, and to the constancy of his friendship, which in my case extended over a period of fully thirty-five years.

In Dr. John Henry Middleton this country has lost one of its most accomplished antiquaries and one of its truest lovers of art. Born at York in 1846, he received his earliest education in Italy, and subsequently, after passing through Cheltenham College, he graduated at Exeter College, Oxford. For a time he exercised the profession of an architect, and gained that knowledge of the principles of construction which has given an additional value to the numerous memoirs on ancient buildings, Roman, Saxon, and Mediæval, with which he has enriched the pages of the *Archæologia*. It also served to give him an insight into many of the details of the architectural monuments of Rome in which he was so deeply interested, and which he has so well described in his *Ancient Rome*, first published in 1885, of which a second edition appeared in 1888. His *Remains of Ancient Rome*, in two volumes, followed in 1892. He also wrote on the Engraved Gems of Classical Times and on Illuminated MSS. His industry was such, that in addition to this important work and numerous papers in

periodical journals, he was the author of no less than eighty-four articles in the last edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. He was M.A. of Cambridge as well as of Oxford, and at one time was the Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum and a Fellow of King's College. His artistic tastes and acquirements led to his being appointed Slade Professor of Fine Art in the University of Cambridge, and a Lecturer at the Royal Academy in London. Rather more than two years ago he was installed as Director of the South Kensington Museum, and thus entered on a career for which he was admirably adapted, and which was thoroughly congenial to his tastes. But his health, which was never robust, began to fail, and notwithstanding that he accomplished much both in the arrangement of the collections and in adding to them, the strain of the post was almost beyond his powers. He took a warm interest in numismatic studies, and recognised their importance in connection with both history and art. He was a member of this Society since 1869, and occasionally served upon our Council, but his communications to the *Numismatic Chronicle* were few. His admirable review of Mr. Head's *Historia Numorum* makes us regret the more that one who appreciated so fully the beauties of Greek art as displayed upon the coins, could not find time more frequently to dilate upon what was so congenial a subject. Dr. Middleton was a frequent visitor to Italy, the scene of his early education, and his degree of D.C.L. was conferred upon him by the University of Bologna. Though he had long been far from well, his death was sudden on the 10th of June, and he leaves a gap which it will be almost impossible to fill. At the time of his decease he was engaged on a work on the Topography and Antiquities of Athens, which in interest and importance would have rivalled his *Ancient Rome*.

In our honorary member, M. Henri Sanvaire, we have lost one of the most distinguished Arabic scholars and numismatists of our day. For some years he occupied the post of French Consul in Egypt, and devoted much of his time to Oriental

studies and to the collection of Mahomedan coins. Many of the results of these studies are embodied in his *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmane*, a work regarded as a standard authority. He frequently contributed to the pages of different Asiatic journals, besides publishing several independent historical works. In the *Numismatic Chronicle* he published various memoirs—On a Dinar of Salih Ebn Merdas, of Aleppo (1873); on an Inedited Safārid Fels (1881), and on some Mussulman coins (1882). It was only last year that we paid him the well-earned compliment of electing him on our list of Honorary Members, from which his name has been so quickly and unexpectedly removed. He died in April last on his property at Robernier, near Montfort, Var, being still but from fifty to sixty years of age.

In reviewing, as usual, the communications of the past year, I am glad to see that articles on Greek numismatics still occupy an important place in our journal. Our distinguished foreign member, M. J. P. Six, of Amsterdam, has given us a continuation of his paper on "Inedited or Uncertain Greek Coins," the first portion of which I mentioned in my Address of last year. His last communication relates to various classes of coins, such as those of Sinope, struck under the Satrap Datames, and his hyparchs Vararanes, Orontobates, and a possible Tirin, and to a coin of Athens combining the types of Lampsacus and Arcadia, which he ascribes to the time of Hippias, about B.C. 514. Other coins, bearing the Athenian owl and a large Δ , he regards as having been struck under Peisistratos, after his conquest of Athens in B.C. 533, though this attribution has been contested. M. Six adds a provisional classification of the coins issued at Athens between B.C. 594 and 511, which may prove of use to future inquirers. Another valuable part of the paper relates to the coinage of Cardia, presumed to have been issued under Miltiades, son of Cimon. The coinages of Tarsus and Adana, of Megarsos and Mallos, of Aegeae in Cilicia, and of Socha in Cyrrhestica, are also dis-

cussed. The coins now assigned to the town of Socha were formerly attributed by M. Six to the Egyptian Satrap Sabaces, and as the inscription reads ΣΩΧ and not Σωχ, the new view is not given without reserve. The essay is of great value, even if in part it rather suggests points of discussion than gives definite determinations.

To another equally distinguished honorary member, Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, we are also deeply indebted. Like that of M. Six, his paper ranges over a wide field in Greek numismatics, but as a rule it deals with somewhat more recent classes of coins. One of its interesting features consists in the numerous instances adduced of symbols designating their monetary value being placed upon the coins. On those of the Phocians and Locrians **O** stands for ὁβολός, while the Arcadian obols, in accordance with the local dialect, are marked **ΟΔ** for ὁδελός. A tritartemorion of Pale bears three **T**'s conjoined, while the ἡμιοβόλια and τεταρτημόρια of Colophon bear monograms composed of **HM** and **TE** respectively. On coins of Clazomenae **X** stands for χαλκοῦς.

Some hemiobols which Dr. Imhoof-Blumer formerly assigned to Stratos he now places at Heraia. He also impugns Svoronos' attribution of the coins bearing a bunch of grapes to the island of Mykonos, and substantiates their usual attribution to Tenos by adducing coins bearing the name of that island combined with the grapes. He also shows cause for regarding Amastris and Sebaste in Paphlagonia as different localities. It will be remembered that in the *Chronicle* for 1892, Mr. F. B. Baker described an interesting coin of Magnesia ad Maeandrum with the type of a man carrying an uprooted tree, and called attention to the passage in Pausanias, already cited by Cavedoni, that illustrated the type. Dr. Imhoof-Blumer now shows that the figure on a coin of Caracalla struck at Magnesia, which has been regarded as that of one of the Coryhantes, is in reality a δευδροφόρος, and bears reference to the same marvellous inspiration arising from a visit to the cave of Hylæ as that typi-

fied on the coins of Gordian, published by Mr. Bakor. In conclusion Dr. Imhoof-Blumer shows that some coins regarded by Mionnet as of Lysimachia belong more probably to Aspendus, and calls attention to some coins of Antiochia ad Cragum. The article is in German, a fact which probably presents no difficulty to many of our members, but in case there are any who may not be able readily to translate it, I have thought it best to give a rather full abstract of its contents.

Dr. Hermann Weber has also favoured us with a second communication on some of the unpublished or rare Greek coins in his fine collection. The first is of Cumæ and is of interest from the point of view of natural history, as on the reverse is the representation of a crab which appears to attempt to prevent a *pinna* from closing its shells by inserting a pebble between them, thus illustrating the vulgar opinion as to the habits of the crab *Pinnotheres* recorded in Oppian's *Halieutica*. Other early naturalists attribute this ingenious habit to the *Ozaena*, a strong smelling polyp, concerning which there is this choice passage in Du Bartas's *Divine Weekes and Workes*, translated by Josuah Sylvester, gent.²

"The subtle smell-strong-many-foot, that fain
 A dainty feast of *Oyster-flesh* would gain,
 Swims softly down, and to him slyly slips,
 Wedging with stones his yet wide-yawning lips,
 Lest else (before that he have had his prey)
 The *Oyster* closing clips his limbs away
 And (where he thought t'have ioyed his victories)
 Himselfe become vnto his prize a prize."

If the name of the crab is to be regarded as *Pinnotheres*, the *Pinna-guard*, the same author recounts particulars of the "Strange League betweene the Pearl-Fish and the Prawne."

Among the sixty-eight other coins described in the paper I may mention a very early one of Neapolis in Campania, an alliance coin of Croton and Sybaris, a small unpublished coin of

² Ed. 1633, p. 96.

Rhegium, an early coin of Atrax in Thessaly with a cupping vase and forceps on the reverse, a remarkable stater of Lampasacus, and a series of coins of Celenderis.

Mr. G. F. Hill, in a well-reasoned paper, has shown cause to regard certain Graeco-Roman sculptured heads, which Sir Charles Newton considered to be representations of Philip V of Macedonia, or of some member of his family, in the character of the hero Perseus, as being actual portraits of Perseus, the son of Philip. Of the identity of the portrait with that on the tetradrachms of Philip V there can be but little question, and Mr. Hill suggests that the coins may have been struck by Perseus under the authority of his father at a time when the latter was away on one of his warlike expeditions. It is always satisfactory to find Numismatics coming to the aid of archaeology, of which indeed they are perhaps the most trustworthy branch. On the other hand, in Mr. Tafourd Ely's paper on a Wall-painting at Pompeii, we find archaeology illustrating Numismatics. Among the remarkable and well-preserved frescoes in the so-called *Casa dei Vetti*, is an idealised representation of the whole process of coinage. There are Cupids stoking the furnace, heating metal with a blow-pipe, shaping and hammering the blanks, weighing them in the presence of a more solemn and sedate Eros, who acts as the *monetalis*, and, finally, striking the coin by means of a sledge-hammer which descends on dies supported on an anvil. We know something of the accessories of the Roman mint from the coins of the Carisia family and from other sources, but this is the first time that we have become acquainted with a contemporary picture of the processes employed in *auro*, *argento*, *aere*, *flando*, *feriundo*.

In a paper on some rare or unpublished Roman Medallions I have ventured to contest Sig. Francesco Gnechi's and Dr. F. Kenner's view, that the Roman medallion of bronze was only a multiple of the current money and passed current like the ordinary coins. This may have been the case in late Imperial times, but at an earlier period there are so many examples of

medallions produced by the expensive process of making them in two metals, of those mounted on pivots or surrounded by a border, and of others heavily gilt, that the exceptions, instead of proving the rule that medallions were intended for currency, go far towards invalidating it. My suggestion that many medallions were struck as patterns giving authentic likenesses of the emperors and the members of their families, from which in the country mints, and even in that of Rome, dies might be engraved, seems to me more tenable, and this view is corroborated by the monetary reverses which are presented on so many medallions.

During the past year two extensive deposits of Roman coins have come to light, and we have received detailed accounts of the contents of both. Our member Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley, with a degree of patience rivalling that of the late Lord Selborne, when he examined the vast Blackmoor hoard of nearly 30,000 coins, has carefully gone through a mass of 17,550 coins, mostly of the Constantine period, and has favoured us with the results of her examination. The number of coins with the types of URBS ROMA and CONSTANTINOPOLIS exceeds 7,600, and while there are at least 30 of the comparatively rare coins of Delmatius, only 4 of Crispns are present in the hoard. The deposit seems to have taken place about A.D. 350, and possibly the coins of Crispus, who died in 326, had already been dispersed over the world. The same scarcity of his coins has been observed in other hoards buried at about the same date.

The other deposit was found at Brickendonbury, near Hertford, and was described by myself, though the coins had already been examined and classified by Mr. R. T. Andrews. They consisted of about 482 denarii, ranging in date from the reign of Commodus to that of Herennius Etruscus, the majority being of the time of Severus Alexander. Among them were several rare coins, such as those of Pertinax, Diadumenianus and Barbia Orbiana, which are but rarely found in this country. The time when the hoard was deposited must have been shortly

after A.D. 250, and several other hoards of much the same character are known which were buried at about the same period, just before the days of the so-called Thirty Tyrants, when troubles were already ripe in the Roman Empire.

Of the coins of the ancient Britons we have heard but little, though I have submitted a short note on a specimen found near Watford, Herts, which from its types appears to belong to a more northern home, probably among the Brigantes or Parisii.

Many interesting exhibitions of Anglo-Saxon and English coins have been made during the past session. Among them two of York half-crowns of Charles I, on which a small B in the O of EBOR proves that the dies were engraved by Briot.

Mr. Lawrence has given us an interesting paper on what he regards as an early coinage of the pennies of Edward III, with the name EDW. as on pennies of Edward I, and has suggested that the so-called pattern groats usually attributed to Edward I were issued simultaneously with these peculiar pennies and also belong to Edward III.

In another paper he has called attention to the value of the evidence of "over-struck" coins, that is to say, coins struck not on blanks but on pieces that have already been in circulation. He was able to illustrate this by coins in the Anglo-Saxon and early English series. The importance of the testimony of *surfrappées* coins in determining the date of Jewish coins issued during the revolts against Roman authority has already been universally recognised.

Colonel Sandeman's paper on the Bezants of James I, and of his Queen, will be read with much interest. These pieces were large gold medals of the value of £15, and were given by their Majesties as offerings at some of the principal Church festivals and were probably afterwards redeemed for current money. They would in such a case have been struck in one or two examples only. The Bezants of James I and Anne of Denmark are described in Camden's *Remaines concerning Britaine*, and an impression in silver from one of the dies is preserved in the

British Museum. Camden says that until the days of James I, "there were two Bizantines purposely made for the King and Queen with the resemblance of the Trinitie inscribed *In honorem sanctæ Trinitatis*, and on the other side the picture of the Virgin Marie, with *In honorem sanctæ Mariæ Virginis*." The gold medal³ presented by James III of Scotland, in 1477, at the shrine of St. John the Baptist at Amiens was two ounces in weight, and seems to have belonged to this same class of Bezants. It was lost during the first French Revolution. Looking at the close connexion which for centuries existed between Scotland and France, and to the almost absolute identity of the religious ceremonies in England and France up to the middle of the sixteenth century, it appears to me probable that some traces of such Byzantines may be looked for in France, though none such are at present known to exist. The great gold piece of Louis XII, preserved in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris, is a bulla or seal and not a medallion.

Dr. F. Parkes Weber has favoured us with an essay on Medals of Centenarians, from which it would appear that those who attain to the age of a hundred years are not so few in number as was thought by the late Mr. Thoms, and, moreover, that among the centenarians are many distinguished in science and art, while others, like the late Sir Moses Montefiore, have been conspicuous for philanthropy. Professor Chevreul, at the age of ninety-nine, contributed a memoir to the French *Académie des Sciences*, and I have seen him attending meetings of that learned body after he had passed his hundredth year.

Dr. Frazer, of Dublin, has exhibited to us a remarkable bronze medallion or *plaque* commemorative of the delivery of Antwerp from siege in 1577, and at the same time communicated some notes upon it. It is a remarkable piece of spirited work, and

³ Cochran-Patrick, *Scottish Medals*, p. 2; Pinkerton, *Ess. on Med.*, II., 143.

appears to be unique of its kind. Possibly its publication may lead to the discovery of the other six *plaques* of the set engraved in the *Patria Libertati Restituta*, a work of sufficient merit to have been reprinted by Sir William Stirling Maxwell, in which this medallion appears.

Our only paper relating to Oriental numismatics was one from the pen of Colonel Lowsley on the Coins and Tokens of Ceylon. For variety in its currency that island is almost unrivalled. In addition to the native coinage, Indian, Portuguese, Dutch, and English-minted coins abound, while the numerous tokens struck for English firms in the island testify to the former prosperity of its coffee plantations. The basis on which most of them were issued is ninepence, the wages given for picking a hundredweight of coffee. Smaller tokens for 4½d. and 2½d. represent the picking of half and a quarter of a hundred-weight.

I do not think that there are any numismatic publications that have appeared during the past year to which I need call special attention. Some additions to the fine series of catalogues issued by the Trustees of the British Museum are, I believe, in course of preparation.

One of the principal features of the past session has been the important sales of coins at public auction, and the high prices which some of the rarer specimens have attained. The collection of our late Vice-President, Mr. Hyman Montagu, has been the most extensive that has thus been sold. There is always something sad about the dispersion of collections which have been carefully brought together at the expenditure of much time, care, money, and special knowledge, and many of us must have had pangs of regret at seeing a collection so well known and so judiciously selected brought to the hammer. There is some little consolation in thinking that a considerable number of the more important coins have, through the liberality of the Government, been secured for the national collection, and that others which have fallen into private hands may tend to encourage a

taste for numismatic studies, and possibly enlarge our knowledge. Certainly, the prices realised in many cases prove that collectors are no less avid of acquisitions than they were in former times. It is only to be hoped that they will make an equally good use of their collections as did Mr. Montagn.

I may make a short allusion to a remarkable hoard of Roman gold coins found in Italy. Those who have recently visited the Musoum of the Louvre, in Paris, must have been struck by the magnificent service of Roman silver-plate lately added to the collections through the liberality of Baron Edmond de Rothschild. It was found at Bosco Reale, in the immediate neighbourhood of Pompeii, and with it were the remains of the slave who had it in charge when the fearful eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79 took place. Besides the plate and some jewellery which he had in charge, and with which he attempted to escape, he carried with him about 1200 gold coins, ranging in date from the early days of the Empire to those of the Flavian family, a large number of which are, as might have been expected, in the highest state of preservation. The colouring of most of the coins adds to their beauty, for, from the presence of sulphur or some other chemical agent, a tinge of a rich rosy colour has been given to them. Many collections will, no doubt, be enriched, and at the same time adorned, by the accession of some of these Bosco Reale coins.

I have little to add to this short address beyond congratulating the Society on the interest which usually attaches to its meetings, and to the coins exhibited at them. The attendance proves that our gatherings are appreciated, and I can only hope that, notwithstanding the losses that we have sustained among our members, we may still continue to receive communications worthy of being printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, and that our motto, like that of the Blue and Orange Medal,⁴ may ever be, "Non deficit alter."

⁴ *Med. Ill.*, II., 486.

The Meeting then proceeded to ballot for the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were elected :—

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OF THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
OF LONDON.

DECEMBER, 1896.



C

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DECEMBER, 1896.

An Asterisk prefixed to a name indicates that the Member has compounded for his annual contribution.

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